



CAMBRIDGE CLASSICAL STUDIES

*Oscan in Southern Italy
and Sicily*

*Evaluating Language Contact in
a Fragmentary Corpus*

KATHERINE McDONALD

VISIT...

LANZAROTE
Caliente.COM

OSCAN IN SOUTHERN ITALY AND SICILY

In pre-Roman Italy and Sicily, dozens of languages and writing systems competed and interacted, and bilingualism was the norm. Using frameworks from epigraphy, archaeology and the sociolinguistics of language contact, this book explores the relationship between Greek and Oscan, two of the most widely spoken languages in the south of the peninsula. Dr McDonald undertakes a new analysis of the entire corpus of South Oscan texts written in Lucania, Bruttium and Messina, including dedications, curse tablets, laws, funerary texts and graffiti. She demonstrates that genre and domain are critical to understanding where and when Greek was used within Oscan-speaking communities, and how ancient bilinguals exploited the social meaning of their languages in their writing. This book also offers a cutting-edge example of how to build the fullest possible picture of bilingualism in fragmentary languages across the ancient world.

KATHERINE MCDONALD is Research Fellow in Classics at Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, and an affiliated post-doctoral researcher on the project 'Greek in Italy', funded by the Arts & Humanities Research Council. Her current research interests include the Italic languages, ancient bilingualism, personal names and gender linguistics.

CAMBRIDGE CLASSICAL STUDIES

General editors

R. L. HUNTER, R. G. OSBORNE, M. MILLETT, G. BETEGH,
G. C. HORROCKS, S. P. OAKLEY, W. M. BEARD, T. WHITMARSH

OSCAN IN SOUTHERN ITALY AND SICILY
Evaluating Language Contact in a Fragmentary Corpus

KATHERINE MCDONALD

Gonville and Caius College, University of Cambridge



CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781107103832

© Faculty of Classics, University of Cambridge 2015

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2015

Printed in the United Kingdom by Clays, St Ives plc

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication data

McDonald, Katherine, 1987– author.

Oscan in southern Italy and Sicily : evaluating language contact in a fragmentary corpus / Katherine McDonald.
pages cm – (Cambridge classical studies)

ISBN 978-1-107-10383-2 (hardback)

1. Oscan language. 2. Inscriptions, Oscan. I. Title. II. Series: Cambridge classical studies.

PA2452.M37 2015

479'.9 – dc23 2015009423

ISBN 978-1-107-10383-2 Hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication, and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

CONTENTS

<i>Acknowledgements</i>	page vi
<i>Conventions</i>	ix
<i>List of abbreviations</i>	xi
<i>List of illustrations</i>	xiv
<i>List of maps</i>	xvii
<i>List of tables</i>	xviii
1 Introduction	I
2 Bilingualism and language contact in written texts	36
3 Alphabets, epigraphy and orthography	63
4 Dedicatory inscriptions	94
5 Curse tablets	133
6 Legal texts	167
7 Official inscriptions, coins, funerary inscriptions, stamps and graffiti	194
8 Conclusions	224
<i>Appendix 1 Catalogue of sites</i>	244
<i>Appendix 2 Dating of inscriptions and concordances</i>	258
<i>Bibliography</i>	276
<i>General index</i>	295
<i>Index locorum</i>	302

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This book is based on the PhD thesis which I started in 2010. Over the past five years, I have been fortunate enough to receive support and advice from many talented scholars. A number of people have made their work and pictures available to me, have travelled with me to various sites and museums in Italy and Greece, or have encouraged me to persevere during the inevitable rough patches. Without these contributions this book would be much diminished. My heartfelt thanks go out to (in alphabetical order): David Abulafia, Moreed Arbabzadah, Ettore Cingano, Lyndsay Coe, Chris Courtney, Michael Crawford, Monique Dondin-Payre, John Gallagher, Gabriela Ingle, Mari Jones, David Langslow, Adriano La Regina, Catherine Lee Porter, Maria Pia Malvezzi, Torsten Meißner, Fiona Mowat, Alex Mullen, Francesca Murano, Danika Parikh, Robert Pitt, Paolo Poccetti, Robert Priest, Philomen Probert, Susan Raich, Ulrike Roth, Timo Sironen, Heikki Solin, Pippa Steele, Livia Tagliapietra, Rupert Thompson, Olga Tribulato, Giuseppe Ucciardello, Andreas Willi, Greg Woolf and Nick Zair. I would also like to thank all of the members of the Philology and Linguistics Caucus of the Cambridge Classics Faculty for their insights, their friendly criticisms and their habit of throwing fruit to each other at seminars.

My PhD thesis was written with the generous financial support of the Arts & Humanities Research Council, UK. Further financial assistance for travel was provided by Pembroke College, Cambridge, the Faculty of Classics, University of Cambridge, and the British Council Erasmus Programme. I would also like to thank Ca' Foscari, Università di Venezia, and the British School at Rome for hosting me on several rewarding research trips. The revision of the manuscript took place during my Research Fellowship at Gonville and Caius College, and

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank the college sincerely for the opportunity to finish this work and for the friendships I have gained in my time there.

A number of museums allowed me to conduct research and photograph inscriptions during 2012 and 2014. Several of these museums went out of their way to accommodate me and my colleagues, and this made a huge difference to my research. I would like to thank the Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, the Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Paestum, the Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Muro Lucano, the Museo Archeologico Nazionale della Basilicata 'Dinu Adameșteanu' (Potenza), the Museo Provinciale di Potenza, the Museo Nazionale Archeologico di Crotone, the Museo Provinciale di Catanzaro, the Museo Nazionale di Vibo Valentia, the Museo Nazionale di Reggio Calabria, the Museo Regionale Interdisciplinare di Messina and the Musée du Louvre. Photographs and drawings provided by other scholars are credited in the captions. Special characters used in the text were created by my brother, Richard McDonald. Images and drawings of sites and inscriptions are provided by the kind permission of the following organisations:

Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei

Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici di Salerno, Avellino, Benevento e Caserta

Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici della Basilicata

Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici della Calabria

These images may not be copied or reproduced elsewhere without express permission.

My PhD examiners, Emmanuel Dupraz and Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, and the two readers for Cambridge University Press, Geoff Horrocks and Stephen Oakley, all read this manuscript in more or less its final form. They made a number of recommendations, big and small, for its improvement. This book has benefited hugely from their input, and I am very grateful to all of them for the time they spent engaging with my work. I would also like to thank Michael Sharp, Liz Hanlon, Mary Morton and everyone else at Cambridge University

Acknowledgements

Press who helped with the production of this book. All errors that remain are, of course, my own.

Most of all, I would like to convey my gratitude to my supervisor, James Clackson. He was the best supervisor I could imagine: kind, encouraging and always challenging me to improve. This would be a very different book without him. As the principal investigator of the 'Greek in Italy' project, he is now leading the way in research into the languages of ancient Italy, and I feel very privileged to be able to continue to work with him.

This book is dedicated to my family, who always believed I could do anything, and to Patrick Clibbens, for his undiminished patience and love.

CONVENTIONS

The following conventions apply to the forms given in the text. ‘Native’ alphabets include Central Oscan, Umbrian, Etruscan, etc.

Fonts

tanginúd	epigraphically attested form, ‘native’ alphabet
<i>tanginom</i>	epigraphically attested form, Latin alphabet
τανγινοδ	epigraphically attested form, Greek or South Oscan alphabet

Single letters

/f/	phoneme
[f]	phone, allophone of phoneme
* <i>f</i>	unattested or reconstructed form
<F>	epigraphic form
*<F>	unattested epigraphic form
<φ>	epigraphic form (Greek letter)

Transcriptions of inscriptions¹

πακ(ισ)	abbreviated form, expanded form supplied
λεκ(?)	abbreviated form, expanded form cannot be supplied
[2–3]ιομ	damaged text, space for 2–3 letters
[-?–]	damaged text, unknown number of letters

¹ These transcription conventions are based on those used by Michael Crawford in his *Imagines Italicae* edition: see Crawford 2011b. See also the conventions recommended by Cooley 2012: 352–5.

Conventions

[γ]αϜισ	damaged text, missing letter(s) supplied by editor
α	partially visible letter(s), identifiable in context
τ{αν}αγγινουδ	letter(s) inscribed in error, removed by editor
<κ>λοπουστ	letter(s) left un-inscribed in error, and supplied by the editor; or inscribed as different letter in error, and corrected by the editor
σ α λ α Ϝ σ . Ϝ α λ ε	word divider in the form of a dot or point (where no word dividers are used, the transcription will divide the words with spaces only)
πολε'ν'τα	ancient correction or addition to the text
αϜαμ̂ατετ	letters in ligature
[vac]	small vacat
vacat	vacat of whole line length

ABBREVIATIONS

Linguistic abbreviations

Verb forms

PRES.	present
PERF.	perfect
IMPERF.	imperfect
AOR.	aorist
FUT.	future
IMP. I	imperative I
IMP. II	imperative II
INDIC.	indicative
SUBJ.	subjunctive
OPT.	optative
ACT.	active
PASS.	passive
MID.	middle
PART.	participle
GDV.	gerundive

Noun forms

NOM.	nominative
ACC.	accusative
GEN.	genitive
DAT.	dative
ABL.	ablative
LOC.	locative

Other

ADV.	adverb
ADJ.	adjective
SING.	singular
PL.	plural

List of abbreviations

Collections of inscriptions

Bresson	= Bresson 2002.
Capialbi	V. Capialbi, 1845, <i>Inscriptionum Vibonensium specimen</i> , Naples.
CEG	P. A. Hansen, 1983/1989, <i>Carmina Epigraphica Graeca</i> , Berlin; New York.
CIG	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum</i> , 1828–77, Berlin.
CIL	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i> , 1868 onwards, Berlin.
DTA	IG volume 3, part 3, 1897, Berlin. Appendix: ‘ <i>Defixionum Tabellae</i> ’.
DT Audollent	= A. Audollent, 1904, <i>Defixionum tabellae quotquot innotuerunt tam in Graecis orientis quam in totius occidentis partibus, praeter Atticas in corpore inscriptionum Atticarum editas</i> , Paris.
Dubois GG I	= L. Dubois, 1995, <i>Inscriptions grecques dialectales de Grande Grèce</i> , Geneva.
Dubois GG II	= L. Dubois, 2002, <i>Inscriptions grecques dialectales de Grande Grèce. Tome II</i> , Geneva.
Dubois S I	= L. Dubois, 1989, <i>Inscriptions grecques dialectales de Sicile</i> , Geneva.
Dubois S II	= L. Dubois, 2008, <i>Inscriptions grecques dialectales de Sicile. Tome II</i> , Geneva.
DVA	= Lazzarini 1976.
ET	= Rix 1991, <i>Etruskische Texte: editio minor</i> , Tübingen.
FD III	Fouilles de Delphes, 1929 onwards, Paris. Tome III, Épigraphie.
GDI	H. Gollitz, F. Bechtel, et al., 1884–1915, <i>Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften</i> , Göttingen.
HN	= Rutter 2001.
ID	F. Durrbach (ed.), 1923–37, <i>Inscriptions de Délos</i> , Paris.

List of abbreviations

<i>IG</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i> , 1873 onwards, Berlin.
<i>ILLRP</i>	A. Degrassi, 1965, <i>Inscriptiones Latinae liberae rei publicae</i> I–II, Florence. 2nd edition.
<i>Imagines</i>	= Crawford 2011b.
Kropp	= A. Kropp, 2008, <i>Defixiones: ein aktuelles Corpus lateinischer Fluchtafeln</i> , Speyer.
<i>LSAG</i>	= L. H. Jeffery, 1990, <i>The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece: A Study of the Origin of the Greek Alphabet and its Development from the Eighth to the Fifth Centuries BC</i> , Oxford.
<i>LGPN</i>	P. M. Fraser and E. Matthews, 1987 onwards, <i>A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names</i> , Oxford.
NGCT	= D. R. Jordan, 2000, ‘New Greek Curse Tablets (1985–2000)’, <i>Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies</i> 41 (2000): 5–46.
Pocc.	= P. Poccetti, 1979, <i>Nuovi documenti italici: a complemento del Manuale di E. Vetter</i> , Pisa.
<i>RV</i>	= Lejeune 1990.
<i>SEG</i>	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i> , 1923 onwards, Leiden.
SGD	= Jordan 1985.
<i>ST</i>	= Rix 2002.

Other abbreviations follow the conventions of the third edition of the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*.

ILLUSTRATIONS

1	Schematic of Lejeune's explanation of the development of the South Oscan alphabet, including signs for /f/ Drawn by author.	<i>page</i> 67
2	Schematic of Cristofani's explanation of the development of the South Oscan alphabet, including signs for /f/ Drawn by author.	68
3	Schematic of Crawford's explanation of the development of the Central Oscan and South Oscan alphabets, including signs for /f/ Drawn by author.	71
4	Lu 36 (Potentia 19) Photo by author. By permission of the Soprintendenza della Basilicata.	72
5	Lu 16 (Potentia 13) Photo by author. By permission of the Soprintendenza della Basilicata.	74
6	Rossano di Vaglio, from the south corner Photo by author. By permission of the Soprintendenza della Basilicata.	99
7	Top surface of Lu 64 (Potentia 23) Photo by author. By permission of the Soprintendenza della Basilicata.	101
8	Lu 6 (Potentia 9) Photo by author. By permission of the Soprintendenza della Basilicata.	112
9	Lu 5 (Potentia 1) Drawing by author. By permission of the Soprintendenza della Basilicata.	116

List of illustrations

10	Lu 29 (Potentia 21) Photo by Michael Crawford. By permission of the Soprintendenza della Basilicata.	123
11	Lu 23 (Crimisa 1) Photo by author. By permission of the Soprintendenza della Calabria.	126
12	Lu 39 (Anxia 1) Photo by Nicholas Zair. By permission of the Museo Provinciale, Potenza.	128
13	Lu 43 (Teuranus Ager 1) Drawing by Francesca Murano.	144
14	Lu 45 (Buxentum 3) Drawing provided by Paolo Poccetti.	149
15	Lu 46 (Laos 2) Drawing by Francesca Murano.	152
16	Laos 4 Drawing provided by Paolo Poccetti.	157
17	Petelia 2 Photo by author. By permission of the Soprintendenza della Calabria.	158
18	Petelia 2 Drawing by author. By permission of the Soprintendenza della Calabria.	158
19	Lu 62 (Buxentum 1), Side A Photo by author. By permission of the Soprintendenza di Salerno.	179
20	Lu 62 (Buxentum 1), Side B Photo by author. By permission of the Soprintendenza di Salerno.	180
21	Ps 20 (Blanda 1) Drawing provided by Paolo Poccetti.	189
22	Potentia 39 (reproduction) Photo by author. By permission of the Soprintendenza della Basilicata.	198
23	Buxentum 2 Photo by Maurizio Gualtieri.	201
24	Lu 41 (Tegianum 1) Photo by Michael Crawford.	215

List of illustrations

- 25 Paestum 3, Tomb 1/1972, Necropoli del Gaudio,
Paestum.
Photo by author. By permission of the
Soprintendenza di Salerno.

221

MAPS

1	Greek settlements in Southern Italy Drawn by author.	8
2	Lucania Drawn by author.	14
3	Bruttium Drawn by author.	16
4	Map of evidence summarised in Table 24 Drawn by author	228

TABLES

All tables are by author.

1	Foundation dates of Greek settlements in Italy	<i>page</i> 10
2	Typology of bilingual texts, after Mullen (2012, 2013)	55
3	Models of language contact, after Mullen (2012, 2013)	56
4	Inscriptions from Rossano di Vaglio containing /f/	75
5	Inscriptions from sites other than Rossano containing /f/	78
6	Use of <ψ> and <πσ>	84
7	Use of <ξ> and <κσ>	85
8	Use of <ζ>	85
9	Use of <θ>	87
10	Use of <φ>	88
11	Use of <χ> and <κh>	89
12	Use of <γγ> and <νγ> for /ηγ/	90
13	Extra characters and alternative spellings at Messana	91
14	Dedicatory inscriptions by findspot	98
15	Materials used for dedicatory inscriptions	101
16	Elements in South Oscan dedicatory formulae	105
17	Curse tablets in Italy	138
18	Archaeological contexts of South Oscan curse tablets	142
19	Legal texts from Lucania	172
20	Coin issues	207
21	Tile and brick stamps from Lucania and Bruttium	217
22	Other stamps from Lucania and Bruttium	218
23	Graffiti, dipinti and makers' signatures	220

List of tables

24	Summary of Greek/Oscan contact phenomena in South Oscan texts	225
25	Models of language contact, after Mullen (2012, 2013)	239
26	Domain and genre in language contact	240

INTRODUCTION

Languages in contact in ancient Italy

A traveller through Italy in the first millennium BC would have heard many different languages being spoken. Alphabetic writing systems reached Italy around the eighth century BC, thanks to the influx of Greek settlers and traders. This was several centuries before the expansion of Latin from the small area around the city of Rome to the whole peninsula and, eventually, to most of Western Europe. As a result, we have written evidence of a wide range of languages other than Latin, including some more famous languages such as Greek and Etruscan, but also Oscan, Umbrian, South Picene, Messapic and many others.¹ The spread of Latin wiped out the other languages of Italy: after the Social War (91–88 BC) between Rome and its Italian allies there was a sharp drop in languages other than Latin being written down. Apart from Greek, these languages have no modern-day spoken descendants.

The evidence we have represents a skewed sample of the total number of written texts that were produced. In the mild climate of Italy, unlike in the dry sands of Egypt or in the unusually anoxic conditions at Vindolanda, the vast majority of organic materials like papyrus and wood did not survive. Writing on more permanent materials such as bronze may also have been destroyed when metal objects were melted down, and texts on stone blocks may be hidden inside the walls of more recent buildings. More texts in the languages of Italy are discovered

¹ Oscan, Umbrian and South Picene and a number of less well-attested languages make up the Sabellian language group. Sabellian (also called Sabellic) is one branch of the Italic language family, whose other major branch includes Latin and Faliscan. The Messapic language belongs to a different branch of Indo-European. For the subgrouping of languages within Italic, see Rix 2003; Clackson 2015a.

every year, bringing us precious new insights, but also demonstrating how many inscribed objects may still be hidden underground.

The relative shortage of evidence, compared with the thousands of Latin and Greek inscriptions which have survived, might seem an insurmountable problem for anyone wishing to study these languages. And while we should certainly be cautious about over-extrapolating from the evidence, there are many things which become immediately obvious about the societies that produced these texts. Most strikingly, the texts produced in ancient Italy testify to widespread multilingualism and contact between languages. We can see this when multiple languages were used within one site at around the same time, or when elements of multiple languages appear in the creation of one text. These written sources provide plentiful evidence of contact between communities that we otherwise hear about only in passing from much later literary authors, or not at all.

Two very similar texts from Lucania demonstrate the different kinds of evidence for bilingualism in ancient Italy. They also show how much we benefit from comparing multiple similar texts, rather than viewing each inscription in isolation. Both texts were put up by magistrates to commemorate the building of city walls, one at Serra di Vaglio (Potentia 39) and one at Muro Lucano (Lu 4/Numistro 1).² They date to a similar period, around the fourth or early third century, and they were found at similar locations: inland urban sites high in the mountains of Lucania, originally founded by Oscan-speakers rather than Greek settlers. Both magistrates appear to be from Oscan-speaking backgrounds, if we can rely on the origin of their names. Both texts are written on stone and communicate a very similar message, though the formulae are a little different: ‘(This was built) in the magistracy of Nummelos’ (Potentia 39)

² In this book, inscriptions are referred to by their numbers in both Rix 2002 and Crawford 2011b. The Rix numbers consist of two letters and a number; the Crawford numbers of a (Roman) place name and a number. Some Crawford numbers are abbreviated, so that Lucania or Brettii or Sicilia 1 is written Luc.Bret.Sic 1. Not all inscriptions have both a Rix and a Crawford number. On subsequent mentions, inscriptions may be referred to by one number only. Concordances are provided in Appendix 2.

and ‘Mais Arries (commissioned this) in his magistracy’ (Lu 4). The key difference between the texts is their language. Nummelos commissioned his inscription in Greek, and altered his name to give it a Greek ending, while Mais Arries had his inscription written in Oscan.

We cannot know for certain why the magistrates decided on different languages for these very similar inscriptions. Perhaps Nummelos usually spoke Greek and Mais Arries spoke Oscan, though it is unlikely that any member of the elite would have been completely monolingual in either language at this time. They may have had different audiences in mind, either because the populations of their towns were significantly different, or because one language or another held more power and prestige in their respective areas. The rationale may have been more ideological, such as a desire to align oneself and the community with a wider Greek-speaking world, or to privilege local relationships over wider Mediterranean networks. The difference in language may arise from something as banal as the availability of Greek- or Oscan-speaking stonemasons to carve the inscriptions. Alternatively, if everyone who could read was bilingual, then the magistrates may have seen no particular significance in the choice of language.

Taken separately, these texts do not necessarily tell us much about the nature of bilingualism and language contact in ancient Italy; when compared, they raise a whole range of new questions and possible answers. We will return to these texts in more detail in [Chapter 7](#), after having explored many other types of texts in southern Italy. Only by bringing a range of these texts together, from different sites and time periods, can we start to construct a picture of the extent and nature of bilingualism in the region.

This book is concerned mainly with evidence of multilingualism and language contact in the texts produced in the Oscan-speaking region of Southern Italy, particularly Oscan in Lucania, Bruttium and Messana. In this region Oscan was in close contact with both Greek and Latin. These Oscan inscriptions are often grouped together because most texts from this area were written using an adapted form of the Greek

alphabet, though some of the latest texts were written in the Latin alphabet. Further north in Campania and Samnium, the ‘native’ Oscan alphabet based on the Etruscan alphabet and the Latin alphabet were the most common writing systems. The texts from Lucania, Bruttium and Messana are conventionally referred to as ‘South Oscan’, and date from the fourth century BC until the Social War (91–88 BC) or soon afterwards. This grouping is primarily orthographic rather than linguistic, though we will see some ways in which South Oscan differs linguistically from the Oscan texts of further north as well. The corpus of South Oscan texts has grown considerably during the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, resulting in a collection that is considerably under-studied, both as individual texts and as a group.

South Oscan epigraphy offers the opportunity to study a relatively unusual form of ancient language contact. It is quite common to find ancient examples of contact between a local language and a regional or supra-regional high-status language, to which speakers of the local variety shift over a period of time. Contact between Latin and the majority of the languages of the Western Roman Empire follows this pattern, as does the interaction between Greek and the languages of Asia Minor. Contact between Oscan and Greek is very different, because neither was ever the dominant language of the entire region. In some cities, such as Naples in Campania, the aristocracy was Greek-speaking well into the Roman Imperial period despite a significant Oscan-speaking minority. In others, such as Laos and Paestum, the elite began to use Oscan rather than Greek in texts such as official dedications to deities at a particular date, before shifting to Latin. And at the sanctuary at Rossano di Vaglio, Oscan alone was used until Latin became the preferred written language. Greek never completely displaced Oscan, nor vice versa. The decline of both languages in Italy was caused by the expansion of Latin, with Oscan undergoing language death around the first century BC to the first century AD.³ Greek survived elsewhere in the Mediterranean,

³ Adams 2003: 112, 146–7; Clackson and Horrocks 2007: 83; Wallace 2008: 96.

but probably also ceased to be spoken in Italy, although the Griko dialect of Calabria and Puglia may show limited continuity of Greek in Italy up to the present day.⁴ Because Greek and Oscan do not follow the typical High/Low pattern we see elsewhere, a close investigation of the language contact situation in Southern Italy adds a new facet to our understanding of how languages were used in the ancient world.

The aim of this book is to examine the evidence of language contact in South Oscan texts, both as a corpus and as part of a wider context of language contact in the ancient world. Perspectives from sociolinguistics, epigraphy and archaeology are all essential to achieving this. In the last decade, the study of ancient multilingualism has grown considerably, particularly in reference to fragmentary languages. This book therefore takes into account recent work on other smaller languages of the Mediterranean, and seeks to add to the theoretical and methodological frameworks that have begun to develop in the past ten years.

History of Lucania, Bruttium and Messana

With the accompanying maps, this section is intended to give background to the texts discussed in the rest of this book – this account is by no means exhaustive, and focuses mainly on contact and relationships between groups and communities.⁵

⁴ Rohlfs 1967; Horrocks 2010: 383.

⁵ There is no work which deals with the history of both the Greek settlements and the Oscan-speaking peoples over the whole period covered by this book. The best historical and archaeological account of ancient Lucania is Isayev 2007; for Western Lucania see also Horsnaes 2002, and for Roman Lucania see Gualtieri 2003. For ethnicity and archaic Greek settlement in Bruttium, see Skinner 2012: 175–211; for Bruttium and southern Lucania leading up to and during the Second Punic War, see Fronza 2010. For the history of other Oscan-speaking areas of Italy, see also Dench 1995, who builds on older work by Salmon 1967, 1982. Bruttium lacks a recent historical or archaeological synthesis, but see Pugliese Carratelli 1987 for a short history of Bruttium. For the history of Magna Graecia, the classic treatment, now somewhat outdated because of new archaeological discoveries, is Dunbabin 1948; for 350 BC–AD 200, see Lomas 1993. The main ancient literary sources for the history of Southern Italy, Sicily and Magna Graecia are Polybius (particularly books 1–2, 9–11), Diodorus Siculus (particularly book 14.91–117; 16.5; 20.104–5; 22; 37.2), Livy (books 6–10; 21–30), Dionysius of Halicarnassus (books 17/18, 19, 20), Strabo (books 5–6) and Appian (*Samnite History*, *Hannibalic War*, *Civil Wars* 1).

The neighbouring areas of Apulia, Campania and the rest of Sicily are mentioned here, but they are not treated systematically. Lucania and Bruttium are not particularly well-defined regions in ancient sources.⁶ Lucania roughly corresponds to modern-day Basilicata, though probably with a greater stretch of coastline on the Tyrrhenian Sea, and Bruttium to modern Calabria in the ‘toe’ of Italy.⁷ Messina, which used Oscan in written texts for one or two generations, is a city in northern Sicily just across the straits from the Italian peninsula. Lucania, Bruttium and Messina never formed a single linguistic or political unit, but represent the area where Oscan was written using the Greek alphabet.

Lucania, Bruttium and Messina tend never to take centre stage in ancient historical narratives, and our understanding of events often relies on just one ancient historian, or occasionally competing versions from several. All of the Greek and Roman historians who narrated the events of Republican-era Italy wrote several centuries later than the earliest events they record, and if they used surviving records or eyewitness accounts these were from a limited range of perspectives. Livy unambiguously describes Rome as the greatest nation ever to have existed, and gives this as a major motivation for his writing.⁸ Dionysius of Halicarnassus, also writing in the Augustan era at Rome but in Greek, makes similar statements about the supremacy of Rome and the inevitability of its rise to power.⁹ Polybius, writing for a Greek audience around a century earlier, was also keen to explain how Rome had come to establish its empire by analysing past events.¹⁰ This shared need to account for Rome’s later dominance can often result in a teleological view of the Republican era, seeing the superiority and attractiveness of Roman culture at every turn. The surviving inscriptions written in Oscan in this region date from the fourth to the first centuries BC, and rarely refer to events recorded by the historians; outside of these dates, we have no Oscan-language perspective at all. For these reasons, what follows cannot be

⁶ For details of the competing definitions, see Isayev 2007: 3; Skinner 2012: 176.

⁷ Note that ancient ‘Calabria’ was in the heel of Italy rather than the toe.

⁸ Livy 1.1–9. ⁹ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.2–3. ¹⁰ Polybius 1.2.

taken as anything more than an approximation of events in the region. Where dates of events are given, they are based on ancient sources and should be assumed to be approximate, and I have noted where the statements of historians directly conflict with other evidence. For details of individual sites, see the catalogue of sites in [Appendix 1](#).

Greek trade and settlement

Greek first arrived in Italy as a language spoken by traders. Contact between Italy and Greece goes back to at least to the fifth or fourth millennium BC, with growth and change in these trade connections in the mid-second millennium BC, when the first Aegean pottery appears in Italy, and again in the first half of the first millennium.¹¹ There were always good reasons for the Greeks to head westwards: the west coast of Italy was rich in materials which mainland Greece lacked, such as copper, silver, lead and obsidian.¹² Trade with the wealthy Etruscan civilisation and its predecessors in Etruria and Campania would also have been an attractive prospect.¹³ Aegean Greek ceramics are found in Italy as early as the sixteenth century BC, mainly in Apulia, the Gulf of Tarentum and the Bay of Naples.¹⁴ The pattern of Greek trade and small-scale settlement in the Western Mediterranean from the sixteenth to the eighth century BC has traditionally been known as ‘pre-colonisation’, but more recently scholars have rejected this term as misleading given the level of ongoing contact in this period.¹⁵

From the early eighth century BC, the Greeks set up permanent settlement sites often known in English as ‘colonies’.¹⁶ The settlements referred to in the text are shown in [Map 1](#). In

¹¹ Skinner 2012: 177–8; Broodbank 2013: 204–5, 431, 546.

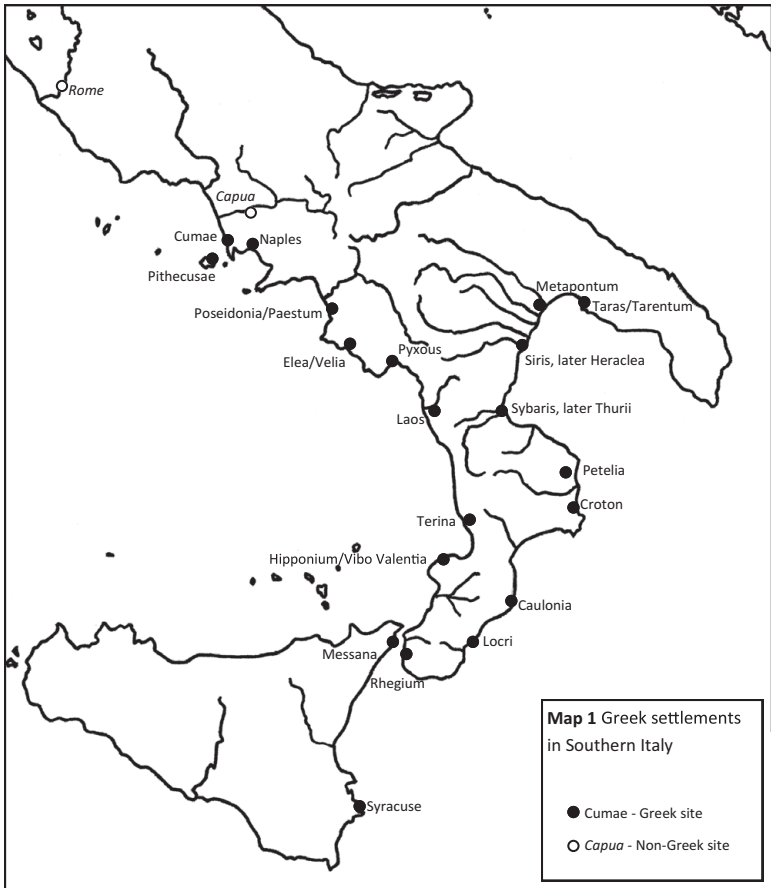
¹² Broodbank 2013: 69.

¹³ For discussion of possible motivations for Greek settlement abroad, see Garland 2001: 35–7.

¹⁴ Ridgway 1992: 4–8. ¹⁵ Ridgway 2004: 17–18.

¹⁶ Some of the most recent historical accounts of this period avoid the word ‘colony’ to stress the difference between Greek settlement patterns and modern European colonialism. See Osborne 1998; Vlassopoulos 2013: 103; Garland 2014: 34. I have avoided this term in favour of ‘settlements’. Roman and Latin colonies (discussed below) are still referred to as ‘colonies’ as an Anglicisation of the Latin word *colonia*.

Introduction



Map 1 Greek settlements in Southern Italy

Greek, they were known as *emporía* or trading outposts and *apoikiai* or permanent city-state settlements, literally ‘homes away from home’.¹⁷ Each settlement had a formal ‘mother city’ or *metropolis*, though most were settled by people from a mixture of cities and areas. Traditionally, settlements shared their language, customs and religious practices with their mother

¹⁷ This account uses the traditional dates for the Greek settlements, but it is possible that the first settlements should be redated earlier, into the ninth century. See Ridgway 2004: 19–22.

city, and maintained various formal and informal contacts, but the settlements were politically independent. The Greeks were not the only ones settling the Mediterranean in this way: the Phoenicians were doing the same and were a significant presence in the early ‘Greek’ settlements such as Pithecusae.

Euboean settlements were among the earliest Greek sites in Italy, founded mainly on the west coast. These sites boast the oldest writing in the Greek alphabet, including the cup of Nestor, inscribed with Greek hexameter verse in the late eighth century. Settlements were also founded by Achaean, Doric and Ionic settlers.¹⁸ The Achaean settlements came to dominate the southern coast and the ‘instep’ of Italy, apart from the Doric city of Taras/Tarentum.¹⁹ Some settlements founded settlements of their own: for example, Poseidonia/Paestum was founded by Sybaris. Many settlements had established stories of their origins which provide a traditional foundation date. These are sometimes too far in the mythical past to be credible, such as the tradition that Petelia was founded by the hero Philoctetes in the aftermath of the Trojan War or that Metapontum was first founded by Nestor.²⁰ Some settlements’ early histories do not survive in our sources: we know nothing of the foundation of Laos, except that it already existed in 510 and refugees from the destruction of Sybaris settled there. The Greeks of Italy are usually known collectively as ‘Italiotes’ or ‘Italiote Greeks’, and the Greek-settled area of Italy is called ‘Magna Graecia’, or Great Greece.

Our histories of the Greek settlements are patchy in the Archaic period. We know that Sybaris expanded hugely in territory and influence, founding both Laos and Poseidonia/Paestum and sharing a coin standard with Croton, Metapontum and Caulonia until its destruction. Archaic Sybaris

¹⁸ These are the group names that Greek sources use to classify the settlements, although ‘Achaean’ Greeks spoke a Doric dialect.

¹⁹ Some sites are known by different names at different times. These sites include: Zancle/Messana, Poseidonia/Paestum, Taras/Tarentum, Hipponium/Vibo Valentia, Elea/Velia. In most cases the latter name is that used by the Romans, and this name will mostly be used in the rest of this book, apart from in this historical introduction, where both are included. Thurii Copia is usually known by both its names.

²⁰ Malkin 1998: 210–33.

Introduction

Table 1 *Foundation dates of Greek settlements in Italy*²¹

Settlement	Date (arch) = from archaeological evidence (lit) = from literary evidence	Dialect area: mother city or cities
Pitheculusae	750–725 (arch)	Euboean: Chalcis, Eretria
Rhegium	730–720 (arch)	Euboean: Chalcis
Zancle/Messana	730–720 (arch)	Euboean: Chalcis
Cumae	725–700 (arch)	Euboean: Chalcis, Eretria
Sybaris	720. Destroyed 510.	Achaean: Achaea
Croton	709	Achaean: Achaea
Taras/Tarentum	706	Doric: Sparta
Siris	c. 700 (arch). Destroyed sixth century.	Ionic: Colophon
Locri Epizephyrioi	679	Doric: Locris
Metapontum	c. 650 (arch)	Achaean: Achaea
Caulonia	c. 650 (arch)	Achaean: Croton
Hipponium/Vibo Valentia	c. 650 (arch)	Doric: Locri Epizephyrioi
Paleopolis (later Neapolis/Naples)	c. 650 (arch)	Euboean: Cumae
Poseidonia/Paestum	625–600 (arch)	Achaean: Sybaris
Laos	?	?Achaean: Sybaris
Elea/Velia	c. 540	Ionic: Phocaea
Terina	c. 500	Achaean: Croton
Pyxous	?471 (lit)	?Euboean: Rhegium, Zancle
Thurii Copia	c. 443. Founded on the site of Sybaris.	Panhellenic: nominally Athens, refugees from Sybaris
Heraclea	433. Possibly on the site of Siris.	Doric: Taras, Thurii

²¹ Adapted from Graham 1982a: 160–2. This table includes the settlements mentioned in the text.

was also a byword for luxury and prosperity, to which later sources normally attribute its downfall. The few famous figures of the Archaic period are the intellectuals of the region, including the influential lawgivers Zaleucus of Locri, Androdamas of Rhegium and Charondas of Catane in Sicily.²² Elea is named as the home town of the Pythagorean philosophers Parmenides and Zeno.²³

We know very little about the people whom the Greek settlers met as they arrived in Italy. They were probably not Oscan-speakers, who appear to have spread gradually into this region from around the early fifth century and later became known to our Greek and Roman sources as Campani, Lucani, Bruttii, and so on.²⁴ The literary names for the earlier peoples of Southern Italy include names like Oenotrians, Ausones, Opici and Chones,²⁵ but there is little evidence that these names were used in Italy at the time. The name ‘Serdaioi’ crops up on several occasions, suggesting that this may have been the name of a real people: there is a surviving treaty at Olympia between Sybaris and the Serdaioi, and a few coins exist with the legend SERD in the Achaean alphabet.²⁶ It has been proposed that the Serdaioi may have been one of the peoples under the control of Sybaris, which seems to have had a formal relationship with some of the nearby Italian peoples.²⁷

We get some glimpses of the language used in archaic Lucania and Bruttium. The most important inscription is Ps 20 (Blanda 1) from Tortora, which appears to be a legal text written around 500 BC in the Achaean alphabet.²⁸ A short inscription on a ceramic olla, Ps 1 (Nerulum 1), comes from Castelluccio and is dated to the first half of the fifth century. The third extant inscription is Ps 2 (Scolacium 1) from Staletti,

²² Strabo 6.1.8.

²³ Strabo 6.1.1. For Pythagoras as an influence on the Lucani, see Dench 1995: 60–1.

²⁴ The Bruttii are also known in Greek as Brettii.

²⁵ See e.g. Livy 8.16.10; Strabo 6.1.2; 6.1.5; Pliny, *NH* 3.71; 3.95.

²⁶ Greco 1990; Rutter 2001: 142–3; Horsnaes 2002: 121; Isayev 2007: 23.

²⁷ See Strabo 6.1.13. I use ‘Italian’ here to mean ‘of the Italian peninsula’ and usually ‘non-Greek’. The phrases ‘Italian peoples’ and (in relation to Rome) ‘Italian allies’ often include non-Italic-speaking groups such as the Etruscans.

²⁸ See Chapter 6 for more detail on this inscription

which may also date from the fifth century, if it is not a modern fake.²⁹ These inscriptions appear to be evidence for an Italic language or languages in the area before the spread of Oscan-speakers from further north. There is not enough material to determine whether these inscriptions all belong to one language, though they are often grouped together under the name ‘Pre-Samnite’.³⁰ These inscriptions are further evidence of close contact between Greek settlers and other Italian peoples, including the early adoption of writing by the Italian elites.

By reading between the lines, we can also get a sense of the contact between the Greek settlers and the Italian peoples they met from the archaeology of these sites. The spread of Greek goods and engagement in wider networks of trade are in evidence from the earliest period of Greek settlement.³¹ There appears to be a mixture of different burial practices in cemeteries such as the early seventh-century cemetery at Policoro near Siris, which may suggest close coexistence or even cohabitation and intermarriage between different groups.³² The impression that friendly trade relations were the predominant form of interaction is borne out by the construction of some of the Greek cities. For example, Poseidonia/Paestum is built on a site without natural defences, suggesting that the settlers were not worried about outside attacks.³³

The ‘Samnite expansion’

During the Archaic period, the Oscan-speaking ‘Samnites’ were still more or less limited to Samnium, in the Apennine

²⁹ Crawford 2011b: Scolacium 1. See also the fragmentary inscription from Bruttium written in Greek letters. This can be read as a Greek or non-Greek inscription. See Poccetti and Lazzarini 2009.

³⁰ Some scholars also use the designation ‘Pre-Samnite’ for the non-Oscan Sabellian languages of Latium, Campania, Lucania and Bruttium which date to the late sixth and fifth centuries. See Rix 2002: 5–6; Wallace 2008: 96. It is very doubtful that these texts represent one language (see Clackson 2012b: 136–7), but I accept this term here as the standard way to refer to these early texts.

³¹ Skinner 2012: 184. ³² Adameşteanu 1974: 111–13; Skinner 2012: 182–3.

³³ Graham 1982a: 183.

Mountains of Central Italy.³⁴ Because of their more isolated position inland, they did not yet have strong trade links with the Greek settlements, though some Attic pottery was present in Samnium from the sixth century.³⁵ Ancient literary sources suggest that the ‘Samnites’ began to spread into Southern Italy in greater numbers from the fifth century.³⁶ The ‘Campani’, the Greco-Roman name for Oscan speakers in Campania, seized control of Capua and Cumae from the Etruscans and the Greeks respectively in *c.* 425.³⁷ We do not know to what extent this involved a real change of population, since the violent coups described in ancient sources could have been a way for later writers to explain away a change of the ruling elite, or an ongoing influx of population in response to the decrease of Etruscan power in Campania.

The ancient sources claim that a similar change of population affected Lucania and Bruttium, and the sources start to use the names ‘Lucani’ and ‘Bruttii’ when describing events of the fifth century onwards. In most sources, including literary historical accounts and inscriptional evidence such as the Roman lists of triumphs, the use of these terms does not suggest that all the Lucanian or Bruttian Oscan-speakers took part in an event, but that the Romans did not care to record exactly which communities or cities were involved. Strabo’s description of the region has been taken to mean that the ‘Lucani’ came into Lucania as invading hordes, but he does not say this explicitly.³⁸ By *c.* 400, Poseidonia/Paestum and Laos are supposed to have been ‘taken over’, and the only remaining Greek city in Lucania was Elea/Velia.³⁹ New settlements were built in Lucania in this period, including sites at Tricarico and Serra di Vaglio, many of which are assumed to have been constructed

³⁴ ‘Samnium’ was the name used by the Romans. Their own name for the region was probably the cognate name *Safinim*, and the people *Safineis* (pl.). The ‘Samnites’ were not one political unit. The Romans sometimes refer to the Samnites as being made up of separate tribes: the Hirpini, Caudini, Caraceni, Frentani and Pentri. We do not know how closely these names correspond to real political or ethnic groups.

³⁵ Salmon 1988: 704.

³⁶ Particularly Strabo 6.1.2–3; 253–4; see also Pliny, *NH* 3.71.

³⁷ Diod. Sic. 12.31.76; Livy 4.37; 4.44. ³⁸ Strabo 6.1.1.

³⁹ Salmon 1988: 710; Greco 1993: 249; Wonder 2002: 1.

Introduction



Map 2 Lucania

by Oscan-speakers and are referred to as 'Lucanian' sites (Map 2). It is possible that changes in the material culture of the area during the fifth century, such as the appearance of bronze votive statuettes at numerous sites and a substantial increase in population, should be linked to immigration.⁴⁰ Some scholars

⁴⁰ Gualtieri and Fracchia 2001: 110–12, 116.

have argued that there was simply a change of terminology in how the Greeks referred to the people of the area, which later sources misunderstood as a change of population.⁴¹ If there was a mass migration, Oscan-speakers are more likely to have come into the area over a number of decades than in one invasion, perhaps responding to social or political changes after the destruction of Sybaris.⁴²

Those who believe there was a migration into Campania and Lucania often put it down to a Samnite custom called *ver sacrum*, or ‘sacred spring’, by which all the animals and people born in a particular year would be declared sacred to Mars.⁴³ After they had grown up, the people born that year would be sent out to found new communities. If this practice was ever actually used, which is far from certain, it was probably only one aspect of Oscan-speakers’ movement out of Samnium. Transhumance trails used for pasturing livestock were an early source of seasonal population movement.⁴⁴ Trade links between the coast and the inland areas resulted in continuous movement of people and goods. Both Oscan- and Greek-speakers were used as mercenary soldiers, such that many conflicts between ‘Greeks’ and Oscan-speakers had plenty of Oscan-speaking soldiers on both sides.⁴⁵ The interaction between the Greek- and Oscan-speakers in Lucania and Bruttium is probably best characterised as a long coexistence, with both peaceful and non-peaceful modes of interaction.

Bruttium is the name given to the ‘toe’ of Italy, south of an imaginary line between Laos and Thurii Copia (Map 3). Both coasts of Bruttium had been settled by the Greeks in the seventh and sixth centuries, and the Greek presence remained strong even after the spread of Oscan. The Bruttii tend to be

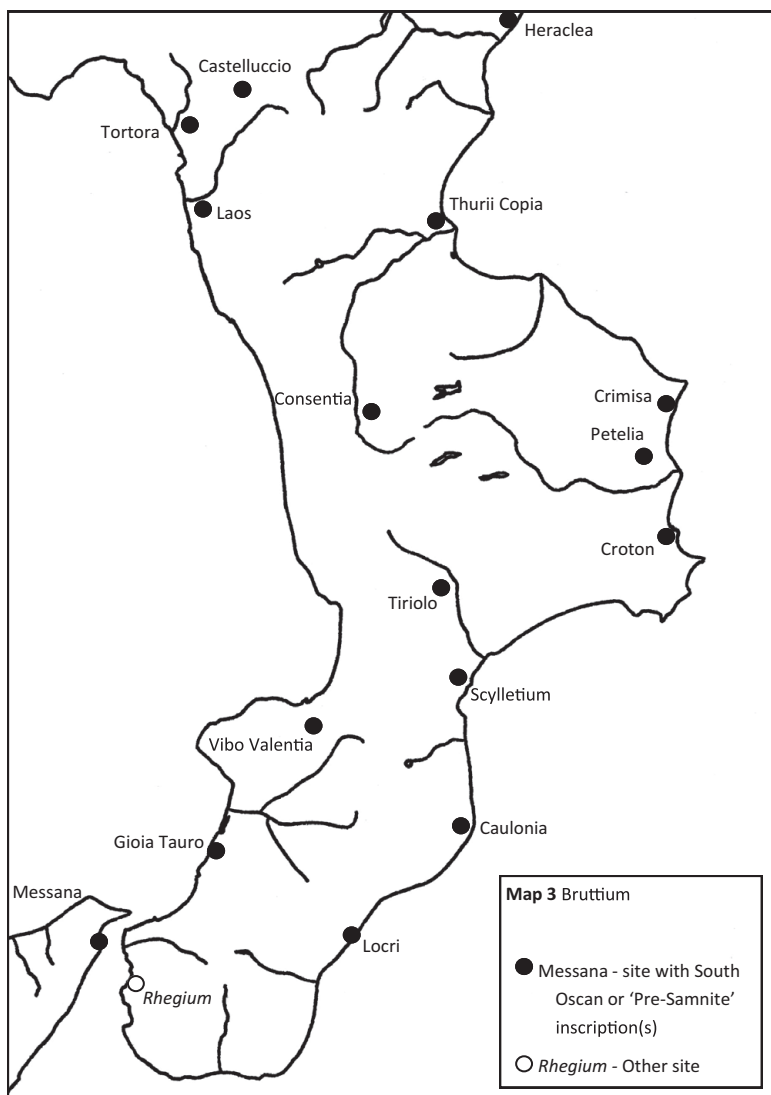
⁴¹ Horsnaes 2002: 126–8; Isayev 2007: 13–15. ⁴² Salmon 1988: 709.

⁴³ Salmon 1967: 36. For the Samnite practice, see Strabo 5.4.12. No *ver sacrum* is ever mentioned happening within Lucania in the sources: Horsnaes 2002: 126. For a closer analysis of the *ver sacrum* myth and its relationship to constructions of Samnite identity, see Dench 1995, especially 185–93, 211–15.

⁴⁴ However, the extent of Samnium’s reliance on pastoralism may be exaggerated in some modern work. Dench 1995: 115–25.

⁴⁵ The use of mercenary soldiers is widely attested. See, for example, Livy 8.38; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 20.1; Polybius 1.7. See also Tagliamonte 1994.

Introduction



Map 3 Bruttium

mentioned less frequently in the sources than the Lucani, and the references to them are rarely flattering.⁴⁶ Several sources state that the Bruttii were a breakaway group of runaway Lucanian slaves.⁴⁷ As with 'Lucani', the name 'Bruttii' is used by Greek and Roman sources to refer to Oscan-speakers in Bruttium long before we have evidence of their having any kind of collective identity.

The Oscan-speakers at Messina, who called themselves and were referred to as the Mamertines, were not from Lucania or Bruttium. They were mercenaries from Campania who went to Sicily in the pay of Agathocles, tyrant of Syracuse, and seized control of the Greek city of Messina after his death in c. 288 BC.⁴⁸ The Oscan inscriptions we have from Messina appear to represent only one or two generations, and by around 225 BC it is likely that all the Oscan speakers there had shifted to using Greek.⁴⁹ The residents of Messina are still referred to as Mamertines in Cicero's Verrine orations of 70 BC, where they are the only people in Sicily to support the corrupt Verres.⁵⁰

We have only outsider perspectives on the institutions and culture of the Oscan-speakers in Southern Italy, in addition to what we can glean from archaeological survivals. We lack literary texts in Oscan, though there is no reason to assume that they were never written.⁵¹ In the fifth and fourth centuries, 'Samnite' mercenaries were a popular subject in the art of Southern Italy, normally depicted wearing a cuirass made of three disks, bronze belts and feathered helmets as in the example on the cover of this book.⁵² The tomb paintings of Paestum show images of gladiatorial fights, chariot races and warriors returning home, but we do not know how literally these

⁴⁶ Pugliese Carratelli 1987: 294.

⁴⁷ Strabo 6.1.4; Diod. Sic. 16.15. These sources claim that the name of the group was based on an Oscan word for 'slave', which is unlikely. Another explanation suggests the name of the people is based on the name of a woman called Bruttia. Justin. *Epit. Trog.* 23.1.

⁴⁸ Diod. Sic. 21.18; Strabo 6.2.3; Cassius Dio 9.40.8; Polybius 1.8.

⁴⁹ Clackson 2012b: 146–8. ⁵⁰ Cic. *In Verrem* 2.4.

⁵¹ The only surviving relics of an Oscan literary culture are the 'Atellan' or 'Oscan' farces put on at Rome.

⁵² See also the description at Livy 9.40.

represent the activities of the elite. The religious practices of Oscan-speakers are reflected in both small shrines and large sanctuary sites across the region, the most important of which is Rossano di Vaglio, which appears to have been used jointly by a number of the surrounding communities.⁵³ We also hear about ‘Lucanian’ philosophers at the Pythagorean school, including one named ‘Ocellus the Lucanian’.⁵⁴

We have a patchy understanding of the political life of these communities. The Oscan word *touta-*, meaning ‘people’, may refer to individual communities or to wider groupings, and there has been disagreement about how this term is applied in our sources.⁵⁵ Strabo comments that the Lucani were democratic, with elected magistrates called *meddices*, except in times of crisis when they appointed a king chosen from those who held public office.⁵⁶ Later inscriptions suggest that they also had councils and assemblies.⁵⁷ We do not know much else about how the communities of Lucania and Bruttium ran their affairs and it certainly varied, since each town was politically independent. We have literary evidence of cities banding together in leagues: a ‘Bruttian league’ is first attested in c. 356, and the ‘Lucani’ were apparently enough of a unit to form an alliance with Dionysius I of Syracuse in 390 BC, though these descriptions are probably simplifications of more diverse groups for the benefit of Roman readers.⁵⁸ Livy’s narrative of events in 326 BC could be taken to imply the existence of a pan-Lucanian voting assembly and senate, but this may be either a complete fiction or a translation of non-Roman political structures into Roman terms.⁵⁹

⁵³ For our evidence of religious cults in Lucania, see Horsnaes 2002: 99–105; Isayev 2007: 31–41.

⁵⁴ Diog. Laert. 8.14; 8.80.

⁵⁵ La Regina 1981; Dench 1995: 135–6; Isayev 2007: 21–2. This term is attested in Lucania as early as the ‘Pre-Samnite’ inscriptions Blanda 1 (Ps 20) and Nerulum 1 (Ps 1).

⁵⁶ Strabo 6.1.3. *Meddix* and related terms are attested in Lucania from the early fourth century BC, the earliest example being Metapontum 1 (Lu 37).

⁵⁷ The earliest mention of a local ‘senate’ in an inscription from the south is Cosilinum 1 (Lu 3), perhaps c. 300 BC.

⁵⁸ Diod. Sic. 14.100–1. ⁵⁹ Livy 8.27.6–9.

The fourth century BC

As we get into the fourth century, our knowledge of events in Italy starts to become clearer, though dominated by Greek and Roman accounts. By this time, the most powerful Greek cities were Naples and Taras/Tarentum. Taras's 'peak' is normally described as the period of prominence of the general Archytas (died 347), who was a Pythagorean philosopher, mathematician and a good friend of Plato.⁶⁰ At Taras, relations with the neighbouring Oscan-speakers were often strained, though alliances changed frequently.

Around the 350s, the 'Bruttii' took Hipponium/Vibo Valentia, and raided a number of other cities.⁶¹ In 333, Taras called on Alexander Molossus, king of Epirus and uncle to Alexander the Great, for additional help fighting various Oscan-speaking neighbours.⁶² The chronology of his expedition in Italy is not completely clear, but he was killed in battle in 331 – according to Livy, by a disloyal Lucanian mercenary in his entourage.⁶³ In 320 a treaty was supposedly signed between Taras and the 'Samnites', which led to a short period of peace.⁶⁴ However, in c. 304, Taras was attacked by the 'Lucani', forcing Sparta to send help to its daughter city under the command of the general Cleonymus.⁶⁵ The battles between Thurii Copia and its neighbours were also fierce. According to Diodorus, the Lucanian troops in the battle to protect Laos from Thurii (390 BC) numbered 30,000 infantry and 4,000 cavalry, with troops drawn from all the Greek cities of Italy on the other side.⁶⁶ Diodorus also reports that the Lucanians gained additional help from their former enemy, Dionysius I of Syracuse.⁶⁷ Even if the numbers are exaggerated, these are likely to have been sizeable armies for the time.⁶⁸

Although hostilities continued through the century, arguably Italy was becoming more culturally homogeneous at the same

⁶⁰ Strabo 6.3.4. ⁶¹ Diod. Sic. 16.15; Strabo 6.1.5.

⁶² Livy 8.24.1–5. ⁶³ Livy 8.24.6–13. ⁶⁴ Livy 9.14.

⁶⁵ Diod. Sic. 14.104–5; Livy 10.2. ⁶⁶ Diod. Sic. 14.101.

⁶⁷ Diod. Sic. 14.102.1–3. ⁶⁸ Isayev 2007: 143.

time. Elites in Lucania and Bruttium were already active participants in the Hellenistic cultural *koine*, and this is reflected in their architectural and artistic choices. Lucania and Bruttium started to bristle with fortified urban sites, mirroring changes to military strategy found elsewhere in Italy and the Mediterranean.⁶⁹ The Lucani and Bruttii are also listed by Arrian among the peoples who sent ambassadors to Alexander the Great in 323 BC.⁷⁰ Around this time, various Greek practices were spreading to inland communities. Most importantly, the use of coinage spread across the whole of the south, and texts began to be written in Oscan using an adapted form of the Greek alphabet. The demographics of the cities of Southern Italy were changing, such that ‘Oscan’ Paestum might not have had a very different population from many ‘Greek’ cities.⁷¹ The use of mercenaries, immigrants and allied auxiliary troops as soldiers continued on both sides. A dedicated helmet found at Metapontum (Lu 37/Metapontum 1) provides evidence for Oscan-speaking mercenaries fighting for a Greek city.⁷² And while warfare was constant, so were compromise and treaties, since neither side would have had the resources to wipe out or absorb their enemies in any of the various conflicts which took place.⁷³

Further north, Rome was beginning to make alliances and build colonies south of Latium from the fourth century. Its first colony in the south was Luceria in 314, followed by Venusia in southern Samnium in 291.⁷⁴ The status of *civitas sine suffragio* (Roman citizenship without voting rights) was granted to communities including Capua and Cumae and ‘Latin rights’ were extended to some groups outside Latium, giving some access to Rome’s legal system to communities further afield.⁷⁵ Rome

⁶⁹ Isayev 2007: 151.

⁷⁰ Arrian, *Anab.* 7.15.4.

⁷¹ Wonder 2002.

⁷² Dench 1995: 55.

⁷³ Purcell 1994: 381.

⁷⁴ Cornell 1990: 372, 380.

⁷⁵ Rome offered a number of different statuses to its neighbours at different times. One was full Roman citizenship, with voting rights at Rome. Another was *civitas sine suffragio*, which imposed all the duties of citizenship with none of the suffrage rights. Another status, originally conferred on the peoples of Latium, was the so-called ‘Latin’ status, which offered certain rights and protections under Roman law, but was not a form of citizenship. Other peoples, normally called ‘allies’ or *socii*

also started building the Appian Way in 312, which initially led from Rome to Capua. The first reported treaty between Rome and the ‘Lucani’ dates to 328 BC.⁷⁶

The third century BC

The Third Samnite War in 298–290 was supposedly started in part by the ‘Lucani’ appealing to Rome for help dealing with the ‘Samnites’.⁷⁷ This conflict saw Rome gain direct control of a band of territory across central Italy, though hostilities with its neighbours to the north and south did not end. By this time, Rome was undeniably a major player in Italy, though it was far from exerting direct control over the whole peninsula. During the third century, a number of other forces came and went in the south, which seem to have attracted the loyalty of many of the cities of Lucania and Bruttium.

The first of these was Pyrrhus of Epirus.⁷⁸ Tensions between the Greek cities of Magna Graecia and Rome were running high: in 306, Rome had signed a treaty with Carthage carving out their respective spheres of influence, assigning all of Italy to Rome despite the political independence of the Greek cities.⁷⁹ In 282, the Roman consul helped the city of Thurii break a ‘Lucanian’ siege. As he left, he positioned a garrison at Thurii and sailed into Taras, breaking a treaty which banned Rome from the Gulf of Taras.⁸⁰ A crowd attacked the Roman ships as they came into harbour, and the Tarentine army marched to Thurii to expel the ruling aristocracy; in response, Rome

were fully independent, self-governing peoples who had agreed treaties of various kinds with Rome; these treaties often included providing troops to the Roman army, among other obligations. These treaties were often off-on arrangements, and the term ‘allies’ should not be taken to denote a permanent friendship with Rome.

⁷⁶ Livy 8.19.1; there was a further promise of friendship in 326 BC (8.24.3).

⁷⁷ Livy 10.11.11–13; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 17/18.1–3.

⁷⁸ Livy’s account of Pyrrhus’s campaign is summarised in Annaeus Florus, *Epit. Bell. Omn.* 1.13. See also Plut. *Pyrrhus*; Dion. Hal. 19, 20.

⁷⁹ Polybius states that this treaty was a forgery; see Polybius 3.22–7. See also the reference to the treaty at Livy 21.10.8. For more detail, see Serrati 2006.

⁸⁰ Appian, *Sam.* 7.1.

invaded Tarentine territory, and the Tarentines appealed to King Pyrrhus for help.⁸¹

Pyrrhus was a well-connected Hellenistic monarch, and received funding and troops from kings in Macedonia, Syria and Egypt, including a gift of twenty war elephants from Ptolemy Ceraunus.⁸² Taras managed to gather support from various cities in Samnium, Lucania and Messapia (the heel of Italy), as well as a group of Greek cities led by Croton.⁸³ The first few battles against Rome, particularly the bloody Battle of Heraclea in 280, were famously 'Pyrrhic' victories, but allowed Taras to demand the return of all land claimed by Rome in the south.⁸⁴ Unfortunately for his allies in Italy, Pyrrhus set out for another campaign in Sicily in 278, and Rome started to win considerable victories.⁸⁵ When Pyrrhus sailed back to Italy in 276, Carthage destroyed his fleet. He failed to take Rhegium because of the Roman-controlled garrison, which was reinforced by the Mamertines of Messana.⁸⁶ With the tide turning, Pyrrhus retreated to Greece in 275. In 272, Taras surrendered to Rome and was included among its *socii navales*.⁸⁷ Ten Roman triumphs over the Samnites, Lucanians and Bruttians are listed in the *fasti* records from 282 to 272 BC.⁸⁸ After this conflict, Rome founded colonies at Paestum in northern Lucania (273), Beneventum (268) and Aesernia (263) in Samnium, and Brundisium in Apulia (244).⁸⁹ The story of the Pyrrhic War shows not just that Rome's power was growing in the south in the third century, but also that Southern Italy was still able to maintain connections with communities in mainland Greece. It also demonstrates that alliances were not based on ethnicity or language, since Rome, Carthage, the Mamertines and some Campanians were allied against the forces of Epirus, which included many of the Greek and non-Greek cities of Lucania and Bruttium.

⁸¹ Livy, *Per.* Book 12; Plutarch, *Pyrrhus* 13.

⁸² The use of elephants in this conflict is why elephants were sometimes called 'Lucanian oxen' in Latin. Varro, *Ling.* 7. 39; Pliny, *NH* 8.16.

⁸³ Plutarch, *Pyrrhus* 13.6. ⁸⁴ Appian, *Sam.* 10.1.

⁸⁵ Diod. Sic. 22.7.3; Plutarch, *Pyrrhus* 11; 17–20. ⁸⁶ Plutarch, *Pyrrhus* 24.

⁸⁷ Franke 1990: 484. ⁸⁸ Cornell 1990: 381.

⁸⁹ Livy *Per.* Book 14; Livy 9.27.14; Livy *Per.* 16; Vell. Pat. 14.8.

The third century also saw the First and Second Punic Wars. The Mamertines had a pivotal role in the beginning of the First Punic War. They allowed a Carthaginian garrison to install itself at Messana around 265 BC to help defend their city against Syracuse, whose territory they had been raiding for a number of years; fairly quickly they decided that they had miscalculated, and appealed to Rome for help to get rid of the garrison.⁹⁰ Rome eventually decided to help, and thus for the first time took the decision to get involved in a war outside the Italian peninsula. The hostilities took place mainly in Sicily, but continued to affect Southern Italy. In 248, the general Carthalo raided the coast, and his successor Hamilcar Barca raided Locri and Bruttium.⁹¹ Rome still had no colonies in the area, though it did have the support of Rhegium.⁹² Peace terms between Rome and Carthage were reached in 241, with Sicily being given to Rome as part of the settlement.⁹³

The Second Punic War, also known as the Hannibalic War, is one of the most famous conflicts in Roman history. Although the war started with Hannibal's siege of Saguntum in Spain in 219, a significant portion of the war was fought in Italy. Hannibal's first major victories were at Trasimene in Umbria (217) and Cannae in Apulia (216).⁹⁴ Cannae was a disastrous battle for Rome, but also led to the defection of most of Southern Italy and parts of Samnium. Livy lists as supporters of Hannibal the Campani, Atellani, Calatini, Hirpini, some Apulians, all the Samnites except the Pentri, all of the Bruttii, the Lucani, the Cisalpine Gauls, and almost all the Greeks on the coast.⁹⁵ Most of these communities' efforts were expended on not being reclaimed by Rome, but they all ended their considerable supply of resources and troops to the Roman army.⁹⁶ Some fought in Hannibal's army, as indicated by the coinage labelled 'Lucanian' and 'Bruttian' minted to pay them, and this is the

⁹⁰ Polybius 1.10–11. ⁹¹ Polybius 56.1–3. ⁹² Fronda 2010: 178–9.

⁹³ Polybius 3.27–8. ⁹⁴ Livy 22.4–7; 22.44–50; Polybius 3.107–17.

⁹⁵ Livy 22.61.12.

⁹⁶ Polybius lists the numbers of allied troops available to Rome just before the Punic War, at which time the 'Lucanians' could apparently provide 30,000 foot soldiers and 3,000 cavalry; the Bruttii are not listed. Polybius 2.24.10–11.

first time when we have inscriptional evidence of this regional identity.⁹⁷ Even so, Hannibal had not attracted enough allies to overcome Rome's advantage in manpower.⁹⁸ Rhegium was loyal to Rome throughout and no community of Roman citizens or Latin colony joined Hannibal.⁹⁹

In Bruttium the key cities of Petelia and Croton initially remained loyal to Rome, but were captured by Hannibal after the first year of war.¹⁰⁰ Hanno allegedly proposed a colony of Bruttians at Croton after its defeat, but the Crotonites declared that they would rather die than mix with the Bruttians and be turned to the 'rites, customs, laws and, soon, the language of others'.¹⁰¹ Fighting continued in Southern Italy from 216 to 204, and from 212 Hannibal wintered in Bruttium each year, making it slow work for Rome to regain control of this territory.¹⁰² By 206, Lucania was under Roman control.¹⁰³ In 205 Scipio captured Locri, and in 204 Rome gained a number of important towns in Bruttium including Consentia.¹⁰⁴ In 203, Hannibal returned to Africa to face Scipio and the war in Italy was over.¹⁰⁵ It is likely that some Italians, mainly Bruttii, followed Hannibal to Africa to fight there.¹⁰⁶ Rome was apparently unforgiving of the allies it regarded as defectors and traitors. Thirty thousand Tarentines were sold into slavery, and much of the territory of Taras was confiscated.¹⁰⁷ The Roman senate decreed that Capua should cease to be self-governing, and its land was declared *ager publicus* – public land belonging to the Roman people.¹⁰⁸

Ager publicus was claimed all across Italy, but probably in many cases no one ever surveyed the land or decided what to do with it, and simply rented it back, more or less legally, to the people who had lived there before.¹⁰⁹ Rome was still finding the public land claimed in Campania impossible to clear of residents well into the second century,¹¹⁰ and its control was

⁹⁷ Also see the Bruttian and Lucanian troops listed at Livy 24.15.2.

⁹⁸ Fronda 2010: 235. ⁹⁹ Though not without complaints: Livy 27.9.

¹⁰⁰ Livy 23.30. ¹⁰¹ Livy 24.3.10. ¹⁰² Fronda 2010: 250.

¹⁰³ Polybius 11.1–3; Livy 27.38–50. ¹⁰⁴ Livy 25.1.2. ¹⁰⁵ Livy 30.20.

¹⁰⁶ Livy 30.20.5. ¹⁰⁷ Livy 27.16; 27.25. ¹⁰⁸ Livy 27.3.

¹⁰⁹ Roselaar 2010: 89–94; Kay 2014: 163. ¹¹⁰ Livy 42.1.5–6.

probably even looser further south. The wars of the third century BC had shown the fragility of Rome's alliances in Southern Italy, and so Rome seems to have taken action to consolidate its control over the region. Large swathes of land were confiscated in Lucania and Bruttium, and it therefore seems that Rome was particularly targeting this region, despite Livy's assertion that they were let off with a scolding.¹¹¹ Various citizen colonies were founded in Campania, Samnium and Bruttium (Temesa/Tempsa and Croton) in 194, probably bringing more Latin-speaking citizens into the south.¹¹² Rome also founded Latin colonies at Thurii (193) and Vibo Valentia (192) in Bruttium.¹¹³ For the first time, Rome had direct control of areas of Bruttium. It also founded Buxentum in 194, but this had to be reinforced after it was found abandoned several years later.¹¹⁴

The second century BC

The communities of Southern Italy who had been left independent following the Hannibalic War still ran their own affairs, but in the second century we start to see more evidence of Roman intervention in Italy. For example, the *Senatus Consultum de Bacchanalibus* (186 BC) states that the Roman senate had voted to ban the Bacchanalia festival in Italy – our surviving copy was found not in Rome, but in Teuranus Ager in Bruttium.¹¹⁵ We have no evidence that Roman legislation was forced on its independent allies, but the fragments of bronze copies of Roman laws found across Italy suggest that the allies may have willingly adopted individual Roman laws when it suited them. Rome and its allies were also becoming culturally and politically more similar. At many Oscan-speaking sites, we see a trend towards adopting Roman titles and offices, often alongside traditional ones. So, for example, we still find *meddices*, but also a κραιστωρ 'quaestor'.¹¹⁶ In 180 BC, Cumae

¹¹¹ Gualtieri 2008: 388–91, with maps; Kay 2014: 168. Cf. Livy 27.15.2–3.

¹¹² Livy 34.45.1–5. ¹¹³ Livy 35.9.7; 35.40.5.

¹¹⁴ Livy 39.23.3–4. ¹¹⁵ *CIL* I² 581; Livy 39.14–18.

¹¹⁶ Lu 6 (Potentia 9), Lu 7 (Potentia 10), Lu 8 (Potentia 3), Lu 10 (Potentia 4).

formally asked Rome whether they could start using Latin for their official business, showing the existence of widespread bilingualism, at least among the elite, and perhaps also a desire to flatter Rome.¹¹⁷ This story appears to show that Latin was becoming a prestigious language in law and government in parts of Campania, though it is possible that this was not felt so strongly in the south where more Greek cities still survived.

As a result of Rome's growing empire, wealth was now pouring into Italy. The upper classes now had greater personal resources than ever before, and there was an upsurge in private donations of money for public building projects in Oscan, Roman and Greek cities. In Samnium, the great theatre temple complex was built in Pietrabbondante, over a century before the city of Rome had its first stone theatre.¹¹⁸ Rome was improving connections in Southern Italy, and built the Via Popillia from Capua to Rhegium in the second half of the second century.¹¹⁹ Trade connections between Southern Italy and the Greek East were stronger than ever before, and were given unprecedented protection by Rome. In 167, the Roman senate expelled the residents of Delos, and created a free-trade centre for the use of Romans, Italians and Italiote Greeks.¹²⁰ By this time, the distinction between Italian allies and Roman citizens was blurred outside Italy: at Delos the terms Ἰταλικοί/Italici and Ῥωμαῖος could be used for all residents of Italy.¹²¹

Social and economic changes were experienced differently across Italy, and not all sites benefited from Italy's growing wealth. In Lucania and Bruttium, a number of sites seem to have been in decline and then abandoned by the mid-second century BC, suggesting considerable changes in settlement patterns.¹²² This region was therefore affected by the war differently from Campania, where prosperous cities continued to thrive. There was also a decline in the practice of large votive and tomb deposits of luxury goods.¹²³ Probably there was some

¹¹⁷ Livy 40.43.1; Salmon 1982: 175, 207; Prosdocimi 1989: 59–60; Campanile 1991: 10; Lomas 1993: 172–3; Adams 2003: 113; Clackson and Horrocks 2007: 81–2; Rochette 2011: 552–3.

¹¹⁸ Coarelli and La Regina 1984: 230–57. ¹¹⁹ Kay 2014: 220.

¹²⁰ Adams 2003: 643–4. ¹²¹ Adams 2003: 652.

¹²² Gualtieri and Fracchia 2001: 117. ¹²³ Isayev 2007: 169–70.

decline of population during the second century, but also perhaps a change in the trade networks. Nevertheless, some sites, such as Tricarico, had a modest revival of building during the second century.¹²⁴

Rural Italy was also changing. Appian, Plutarch and Diodorus Siculus present a vision of an Italy where many farmers and agricultural labourers had seen their land destroyed during the war or had abandoned their smallholdings to fight in the Roman army.¹²⁵ Rural to urban migration followed the Second Punic War, as people saw better opportunities at Rome and port cities like Pompeii and Ostia, leading to a decline in the number of small farms and manpower eligible for the Roman army.¹²⁶ Because of their increased income, or so Appian tells us, rich landholders were able to fill this gap by creating large-scale farming operations worked by imported slaves.¹²⁷ A number of Roman politicians of the second half of the second century sought to reverse some of these changes, or at least to mitigate their effects, starting with the proposed reforms of Tiberius Gracchus in 133.¹²⁸

The constant proposals of land reforms, many of which would have led to the confiscation of Roman *ager publicus* occupied by Latins and Italian allies had they been enacted, seem to have caused rising tensions between Rome and its allies.¹²⁹ From time to time offers of citizenship to the Italian allies were proposed, perhaps to overcome Italian resistance to land reform. M. Fulvius Flaccus, the consul of 125, and Gaius Gracchus, tribune of the plebs in 122, both made proposals for Italian citizenship that were not passed.¹³⁰ Politicians who proposed these changes, including the Gracchi and Flaccus, were assassinated or died in suspicious circumstances, which did little to help stability.

¹²⁴ De Cazanove 2001: 201.

¹²⁵ The various aspects of these changes and attempts to counter them are detailed in: Plut. *Ti. Gracch.* 8–13; Appian, *B. Civ.* 1.7–13; Diod. Sic. 34/35.6.

¹²⁶ Erdkamp 2008: 438–44. ¹²⁷ Appian, *B. Civ.* 1.7.

¹²⁸ Recent accounts have not always taken the sources for the Agrarian Crisis at face value, and have seen a quicker recovery from the Second Punic War than the historians might suggest; for the debate and further references, see Kay 2014: 160–2.

¹²⁹ Gabba 1994: 104–5. ¹³⁰ Appian, *B. Civ.* 1.21–3; Plutarch, *C. Gracch.* 5.

The first century BC

Attempts at land reform legislation continued into the first century. M. Livius Drusus, tribune of the plebs, proposed land reform, reform of the senate and a grant of citizenship to the Italian allies, but he was assassinated in 91 BC.¹³¹ The death of yet another politician who was attempting to resolve these issues seems to have been the tipping point for the Social War (named from the Latin word *socii* ‘allies’) and in 91 the vast majority of the Italian allies took up arms against Rome.¹³² They created a capital at Corfinium, which they renamed ‘Italia’ or in Oscan ‘Víteliú’.¹³³ According to Appian, the Italian side consisted of the people of Picenum, the Marsi, Paeligni, Vestini, Marrucini, Frentani, Hirpini, Lucani, and Samnites, the people of Pompeii and Southern Campania, the people of Apulia, and the Roman citizens of Venusia; there was also some limited intervention from the Etruscans and Umbrians in 90 BC.¹³⁴ Of these, the ‘Samnites’ and ‘Lucani’ are reported to have fought for the longest, past the traditional end point of the Social War and into the subsequent Sullan/Marian civil war (see below).

The Italians won important victories in Campania and Apulia during 90 BC, but seem to have strained their troops to the limit. At the end of the first year of the war, Italy tried to enlist the help of Mithridates of Pontus, but his reply was evasive and he never sent reinforcements.¹³⁵ In October of 90 BC, the Roman senate granted citizenship to the allies and Latin communities who had been loyal or who were prepared to lay down arms immediately in the *Lex Iulia de civitate*.¹³⁶ By 89 Corfinium had been captured, and the Marsi, Vestini and Marrucini surrendered, though fighting continued in the south, where the Roman forces were led by Sulla.¹³⁷ During 89, the

¹³¹ Appian, *B. Civ.* 1.37.

¹³² The Social War is traditionally seen as a request for Roman citizenship by the allies, based on the narrative of the historians. For a reassessment of the outbreak of the Social War and further bibliography, see Mouritsen 1998: 129–51.

¹³³ Diod. Sic. 37.2.4–5; Strabo 5.4.2. Diodorus reports that they had a senate and two consuls in the manner of Rome, but there is nothing to corroborate this.

¹³⁴ Appian, *B. Civ.* 1.39. Cf. Livy, *Per.* Book 72. ¹³⁵ Diod. Sic. 37.2.11.

¹³⁶ Appian, *B. Civ.* 1.49; Cic. *Balb.* 21. ¹³⁷ Appian, *B. Civ.* 1.52.

Lex Plautia Papiria was proposed, and was intended to complete the incorporation of the allies into the Roman state. This law seems to have allowed individuals to apply to a praetor for citizenship, even if their community had not collectively accepted the offer.¹³⁸ As Rome gained control of Campania and Apulia and hostilities wound down in most areas, Italy was reorganised: the former Latin colonies and allied cities of Italy were now transformed into Roman *municipia*.¹³⁹

The Social War is normally considered to have ended around 88 BC. However, the ‘Samnites’ and ‘Lucani’ were still under arms for a number of years afterwards according to Roman sources, and the full incorporation of the other allies into the citizen body did not happen for several decades.¹⁴⁰ Some Roman politicians favoured distributing the Italian enfranchisees through the existing voting tribes, rather than creating new tribes to be tacked on at the end of an election which would mean that the Italians would rarely be required to vote at all.¹⁴¹ This proposal was opposed by Sulla, who had been elected consul in 88, but supported by his rival Marius, who recruited followers around Italy by making promises of huge concessions to the Samnites.¹⁴² However, when Marius died in 86 (apparently of ill health rather than violence), none of the new Italian citizens had been registered and they were not counted in the Roman census.¹⁴³

The problem of enfranchising the Italian allies continued into Sulla’s second civil war (83–81 BC). In 82, Sulla made a formal promise to the Italic peoples that he would respect their citizenship, and have them distributed through the existing voting tribes, but he put a number of Samnite prisoners to death later that year.¹⁴⁴ This led the ‘Samnites’ and ‘Lucani’ to rise

¹³⁸ Cic. *Arch.* 7.

¹³⁹ A *municipium*, by the first century BC, is an independent community incorporated into the Roman citizen body. Bispham 2007: 11–12.

¹⁴⁰ Appian, *B. Civ.* 1.53; Livy, *Per.* Book 80.

¹⁴¹ Appian, *B. Civ.* 1.49, 53. For the Roman voting system, see in general Taylor 1990.

¹⁴² Appian, *B. Civ.* 1.64.

¹⁴³ The effect of the grant of citizenship is not fully noticeable until the census of 70 BC. Bispham 2007: 204.

¹⁴⁴ Livy *Per.* Books 86, 88; Appian, *B. Civ.* 1.87.

against Sulla, and their armies came within a mile of Rome only to be defeated; Sulla freed any Romans he found, but slaughtered all other prisoners.¹⁴⁵ The Italians were particularly hard hit in Sulla's proscriptions after hostilities ceased in 81.¹⁴⁶ Sulla and his supporters claimed huge areas of Bruttium, Lucania and Samnium for large estates, and his veterans were also settled on land in Southern Italy as a reward for their service.¹⁴⁷ He set up a number of colonies, where veterans were brought in to take over the running of the town, including Pompeii and Nola in Campania.¹⁴⁸ The disruption of this period and the wealth of some of those resettling the land are confirmed by the archaeology, which shows a gap in settlement followed by the construction of large, long-lasting villas.¹⁴⁹

By the mid-first century BC, 150 years of war and population movement had completely changed the demographics and languages of many areas. Over a million people had been resettled within Italy, and another million had moved to the cities.¹⁵⁰ Among these were the Latin-speaking Romans who had been resettled to the south. The Oscan-speaking areas of Italy were now part of the Roman state and their affairs were administered by Rome; the free men of Italy were made Roman citizens by the end of the century. Though there is no evidence of the Romans banning the use of Oscan or the other languages of Italy, there was no official support for minority languages in the legal or administrative systems of Rome and speakers would have been under intense social and economic pressure to speak Latin. There is little evidence of Oscan being written after the Social War, though it may well have been spoken for a generation or two afterwards, particularly in family contexts.¹⁵¹ Latin would quickly have become the normal language in most areas of life, and this process may have been speeded up by the fact that the elite, as well as any men who had

¹⁴⁵ Appian, *B. Civ.* 1.94. ¹⁴⁶ Appian, *B. Civ.* 1.96.

¹⁴⁷ Cic. *Phil.* 13.12 suggests that Pompey had estates in Lucania.

¹⁴⁸ Cic. *Pro Sull.* 62; Livy *Per.* Book 89. There are many inscriptions from new building works undertaken by the colonists at this time. At Pompeii: CIL x 800, 819, 829, 844, 852, 937.

¹⁴⁹ Isayev 2007: 183. ¹⁵⁰ Scheidel 2004; Scheidel 2005.

¹⁵¹ Adams 2003: 150–2.

served in the Roman army or businessmen who had traded with Romans, would already have been bilingual at the time of the Social War. A few scraps of graffiti at Pompeii may be datable to the first century AD, although these show partial knowledge of the Oscan alphabet rather than any competence in the Oscan language.¹⁵² The idea that Oscan inscriptions were recopied in Pompeii in the first century AD out of a new local pride is not plausible.¹⁵³ Strabo reports, probably accurately, that by his time the ‘Lucani’ and ‘Bruttii’ of the South were indistinguishable in language and customs from the Romans.¹⁵⁴

Hellenisation, Romanisation, Mediterraneanisation?

Scholars do not always agree how far the culture of the ‘native’ Italic-speaking communities of Southern Italy was affected by the nearby presence of the settlements of Magna Graecia.¹⁵⁵ Salmon maintained that Oscan-speaking peoples were in general impervious to Greek influence, including in areas of close contact such as Campania.¹⁵⁶ Lejeune stated that Oscan-speakers using the Greek alphabet were very much in the Greek cultural sphere rather than in the ‘Italic’ or ‘native’ one,¹⁵⁷ though elsewhere he denied that there was strong Greek influence on the religion of the region.¹⁵⁸ The Latin language and Roman culture became more important influences on the people of Southern Italy during the course of the first millennium BC, though the strength of this influence has perhaps been overplayed at too early a date and has too often been treated as inevitable.

In some contexts, many Oscan-speakers became assimilated into Greek-speaking populations, most notably at Naples and Messana.¹⁵⁹ But Italic-speakers were also selective in the

¹⁵² E.g. Po 66 (Pompei 46). ¹⁵³ McDonald 2012b.

¹⁵⁴ Strabo 6.1.2–3. Strabo lived 64/63 BC to c. AD 24.

¹⁵⁵ The idea of a ‘native’ population, while sometimes a useful shorthand, is difficult. As demonstrated earlier in the chapter, many of the peoples who interacted with Greek-speakers in and around areas of Greek settlement were probably no more ‘native’ to the area than the Greeks were. See also Malkin 2011: 47.

¹⁵⁶ Salmon 1967: 63; Dench 1995: 5. ¹⁵⁷ Lejeune 1970: 274.

¹⁵⁸ Adameşteanu and Lejeune 1971: 83. ¹⁵⁹ Leiwo 1995.

aspects of Greek culture which they appropriated and adapted. This is true across art, architecture and epigraphy. So, while Italiote red-figured vases took on Greek forms and depicted Greek mythological stories, they did so with creative adaptation and independent development for the local market; new ceramic forms were created in Italy; and tomb paintings at various sites show an admixture of Greek, Campanian, Etruscan and local elements.¹⁶⁰ The *naiskos* form of funerary monument, found in Italy from around the second century BC, is also evidence of both Latin-speaking and Oscan-speaking communities adapting a Hellenistic form and producing it locally,¹⁶¹ while the continuity in certain types of grave goods shows that local populations maintained particular funerary practices that were culturally significant to them.¹⁶² The adoption of the Greek practice of dedicating terracotta figurines did not involve a complete overhaul of the structure of the sanctuaries and shrines.¹⁶³ The layout and organisation of sites such as Rocca Gloriosa show the multiplicity of influences from Italy and elsewhere on the builders of the site.¹⁶⁴ There was not always complete maintenance of earlier practices or the wholesale adoption of Hellenistic models, but there was a common cultural ‘language’ that people all across Italy used to assert their membership of the Mediterranean elite.¹⁶⁵

We should also avoid overestimating the effect of ‘Romanisation’ too early. Rome had been a major force in Italian warfare and politics in the fourth and third centuries, and had already formed treaties with the ‘Lucani’ by the late fourth century. Roman practices and the Latin language became particularly prestigious from the second century BC. The effect of Roman roads, the spread of the *ager publicus* and the use of Italian allies and mercenaries in the Roman army all had profound effects. For many communities in Italy, Rome was undoubtedly a major trading partner. However, the direct power that

¹⁶⁰ Dench 1995: 65; Horsnaes 2002: 56; McKay 2004: 87–8; Isayev 2007: 42; Denoyelle and Iozzo 2009: 31.

¹⁶¹ Gualtieri 2003: 209. ¹⁶² Horsnaes 2002: 74. ¹⁶³ Fracchia 2004: 75–6.

¹⁶⁴ Gualtieri 2004: 45–6; Fracchia 2004: 69–70.

¹⁶⁵ Lomas 1995: 109; Dench 1995: 63–5.

Rome had over Southern Italy should not be overemphasised at too early a date, nor should the plentiful evidence of third- and second-century Romanisation in Campania be generalised to the whole of Southern Italy. There is little evidence of the use of Latin in the far south before the second century, and there were no Latin or Roman colonies in Lucania and Bruttium, apart from Paestum in the extreme north of Lucania, until after the Second Punic War. Rome was an important ally and at other times a fearsome enemy, but Lucania and Bruttium were not fully politically integrated into Rome until several decades after the Social War.

The multiplicity of outcomes in zones of cultural and linguistic contact has led to some dissatisfaction with the terms ‘Hellenisation’ and ‘Romanisation’, which may overemphasise the role of Greece and Rome in a fundamentally locally driven series of phenomena.¹⁶⁶ Malkin provides a recent summary of some of the proposed alternatives, including creolisation, hybridity, contact zones and middle ground.¹⁶⁷ ‘Creolisation’ is unhelpfully ambiguous, since in linguistics creolisation refers to a very specific process, of which we have next to no evidence in the ancient world (see [Chapter 2](#)).¹⁶⁸ ‘Hybridity’ or ‘hybridisation’ has been criticised for implying two distinct ‘strains’ being combined.¹⁶⁹ The idea of ‘middle ground’ is perhaps useful in reducing reliance on a ‘Greeks vs. natives’ model of contact and change. ‘Mediterraneanisation’ is a new alternative term, used where there is a need to emphasise the multiplicity of interacting influences from Greece, Italy and elsewhere.¹⁷⁰ This term may reflect that local populations were taking part in a Mediterranean-wide culture, but it is difficult to use within

¹⁶⁶ Curti, Dench and Patterson 1996: 181; Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 10; Malkin 2011: 47–8; Mullen 2013: 8–13.

¹⁶⁷ Malkin 2011: 47.

¹⁶⁸ Mullen offers a further criticism of this term: ‘[T]he important characterisation of creole languages and cultures is that they are formed through the rapid mixture of very different languages and cultures, forced together in distinctive circumstances. This term should perhaps be reserved for these distinctive languages and cultures rather than being used as a catch-all term for cultural contact.’ Mullen 2012: 30 n. 102.

¹⁶⁹ Osborne 2012: 327; Giangiulio 2010: 13–14. ¹⁷⁰ Mullen 2013: 13.

Italy as it seems to imply the adoption of an external Italo-Greek cultural model. ‘Code-switching’ and ‘bilingualism’ are alternative terms used by Wallace-Hadrill as metaphors for cultural change arising from contact.¹⁷¹ These neatly express that cultural modes of expression are added to an individual’s repertoire, rather than the ‘local’ being replaced by the ‘Roman’ or the ‘Greek’, but as with creolisation, we must be clear when this is being used as a metaphor and when we are discussing code-switching in the technical linguistic sense.

There is no single term which can take over from the convenient ‘Hellenisation’ and ‘Romanisation’, despite their drawbacks. We must keep in mind that change arising from linguistic and cultural contact is complex, heterogeneous and likely to be locally driven. The populations of Italy were contributing their own voices to the ‘Hellenistic’ cultural *koine* of the Mediterranean, taking part in common developments and networks that linked them to Central and Southern Italy, Sicily, North Africa and mainland Greece.¹⁷² These communities, and particularly their elites, existed in a profoundly interconnected Mediterranean in the first millennium BC onwards.¹⁷³

Conclusions

This brief outline of the history and culture of Southern Italy cannot hope to cover all the available evidence for either the events which took place in the region or the ways of life there. Our datings of inscriptions are often so vague that they can only be dated within a century or so, meaning they cannot be linked to particular historical events. The events depicted in historical sources are often misunderstood, over-simplified or spun to put Rome at the centre of the action. However, a few points need to be re-emphasised.

Lucania, Bruttium and Messana were a ‘middle ground’. Greek-, Oscan- and Latin-speakers were all newcomers to this area, in the eighth, fifth and third/second centuries respectively,

¹⁷¹ Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 13–14.

¹⁷² Isayev 2007: 41–5; Prag 2013.

¹⁷³ Horden and Purcell 2000: 172.

Conclusions

though all of them were present in the region for trade, war or emigration before they created permanent settlements. In the fifth century, we are not dealing with Greeks and ‘natives’, but two different groups of settlers who coexisted for many years in both peaceful and less peaceful ways. Names like ‘Lucani’ and ‘Bruttii’ suggest, probably incorrectly, that these were stable, clearly defined ethnic groups spread over a wide area; we do not know, in many cases, what these Oscan-speakers called themselves, apart from names relating to their cities. In many cases, the names ‘Lucani’ and ‘Bruttii’ are used in Greek and Roman sources which did not know or care to find out exactly which communities were involved in which events, but preferred to speak of monolithic tribal groups in their accounts.

We should also be cautious of Greek and Roman sources with an axe to grind against the ‘barbarians’ of Southern Italy, who are often presented as the destroyers of *Magna Graecia* or an obstacle in the way of the creation of Roman Italy. The evidence does not suggest invasions of ‘barbarian hordes’, but trade, exchange, alliances and intermarriage alongside broken treaties, war, the use of mercenaries and rebellions against local elites. The Romans and the Italiote Greek cities all had complex relationships with the Oscan-speaking communities of Italy, and alliances frequently changed within a short space of time.¹⁷⁴ Even in periods of war, steady migration and the widespread use of mercenaries and allied troops meant that there were people of many origins on both sides of any conflict, whoever their leaders were. We should not overemphasise the control of the Hellenistic and Roman worlds over the peoples of Italy, but equally we cannot downplay the profound impact of many centuries of contact and exchange.

¹⁷⁴ Isayev 2007: 147.

BILINGUALISM AND LANGUAGE CONTACT IN WRITTEN TEXTS

Sociolinguistics and historical sociolinguistics

Any work which explores ancient languages in their social context needs to draw on the insights of sociolinguistics. Sociolinguistics (sometimes called ‘variation studies’¹) demonstrates that language variation exists between different social groups. This insight, now commonplace, fundamentally changed how linguists handle and interpret language data. Labov’s description of his early work is a classic example of the methods of quantitative sociolinguistics:

LES [the Lower East Side study] included a wide range of methods for gathering data: the rapid and anonymous study of the New York City department stores; transcriptions of group interaction on the streets; a telephone survey of non-respondents. The individual interviews of LES also included a wider array of field experiments than were usually found in succeeding studies: word lists, minimal pair tests, self-report tests, and subjective reaction tests.²

Labov’s later studies in Philadelphia during the 1970s combined brief, formal telephone interviews of subjects chosen randomly from the phone book with longer-term studies of social networks.³ Labov intended his data to give both a randomised view of individual speech patterns in the community and in-depth information about language use in specific settings. The longer-term studies were intended to correct for unintended distortions in the telephone interviews, and vice versa, though ensuring the fairest collection of data has always been a concern. Some members of the speech community had no phone number, were unlisted, or did not make themselves available for interview, particularly men.⁴

¹ Schneider 2002; Romaine 1982: 9. ² Labov 2001: 36–7.

³ Labov 2001: 40. ⁴ Labov 2001: 72.

The newly emerged field of ‘historical sociolinguistics’ applies the theoretical frameworks and methods of quantitative sociolinguistics to the languages of the past.⁵ The field has now widened to include both studies of individual languages and communities and analyses of macrolinguistic concepts such as multilingualism, language contact, attitudes to language and standardisation.⁶ The assumptions of historical sociolinguistics are that variation occurs in written language in a patterned way just like in spoken language,⁷ and that languages behave in a similar way in both the past and the present.⁸ The patterns found in the written language will not necessarily be identical to those in the spoken language, but writers still make conscious and unconscious variations, some of which are conditioned by a range of circumstances and social norms.

It is a matter of debate how closely historical languages can be explained using the methods and theory built up by modern sociolinguistics, and Labov himself has been critical about the available data:

The fundamental methodological fact that historical linguists have to face is that they have no control over their data; texts are produced by a series of historical accidents . . . the great art of the historical linguist is to make the best of this bad data – ‘bad’ in the sense that it may be fragmentary, corrupted or many times removed from the actual productions of native speakers.⁹

To put it another way: ‘historical sociolinguists are forced to make do with the records that have managed by chance to survive through the centuries’.¹⁰ The texts are self-selecting, and as a result we cannot pretend that they represent the whole range of usages found in the speech community, or even the full range of competencies of the individuals who wrote them. The literate population in many past societies was small in

⁵ It has also been called socio-historical linguistics (e.g. by Romaine). Romaine 1982; Hernández-Campoy and Conde-Silvestre 2012; Milroy 1992; Machan and Scott 1992; Jahr 1999; Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg 2003; Bergs 2005.

⁶ Romaine 1982; Conde-Silvestre and Hernández-Campoy 2012: 1.

⁷ Romaine 1982: 13; Lodge 2004: 9.

⁸ Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg 2012: 24.

⁹ Labov 1972: 100. ¹⁰ Toon 1992: 30.

comparison to the modern developed world, and tends to include certain social groups such as the aristocracy, craftsmen and perhaps soldiers, while excluding women, children and lower socio-economic classes. We also cannot hope to gather the range of background information on each speaker/writer that would be available in studies of spoken languages. Epigraphic and literary corpora are therefore sometimes considered unsatisfactory evidence for sociolinguistics.

This has now become known generally as the ‘bad data problem’.¹¹ It still has some acceptance in the field,¹² including in Classical studies.¹³ However, the disadvantages of written historical texts over recordings of spoken language have sometimes been exaggerated or misunderstood. Achieving a genuinely representative sample is extremely difficult in all sociolinguistic study,¹⁴ and is not a prerequisite for obtaining valid results.¹⁵ There are also positive aspects to the data used in historical sociolinguistics. For example, the speaker/writer cannot be influenced by the process of data collection.¹⁶ By contrast, spoken sociolinguistics encounters problems because the face-to-face ‘interview’ is itself perceived as a speech event with its own rules, and as a result it can be hard to gain a full picture of a speaker’s idiolect using traditional Labovian techniques.¹⁷ Janda and Joseph have suggested that we should strive for ‘informational maximalism’ – that is, ‘the utilisation of all reasonable means to extend our knowledge of what might have been going on in the past, even though it is not directly observable.’¹⁸ This highlights the importance of an interdisciplinary approach in studying ancient languages, since the use of different languages, scripts, iconography and materials provides a considerable amount of information when understood together.¹⁹

¹¹ Conde-Silvestre and Hernández-Campoy 2012: 2.

¹² Lodge 2004: 23; Bergs 2005: 45.

¹³ ‘It is obvious that we cannot use sociolinguistic methods to elicit our data, since we only possess written documents’: Mimblera 2012: 227.

¹⁴ Rietveld, van Hout and Ernestus 2004: 350.

¹⁵ Hernández-Campoy and Schilling 2012: 65.

¹⁶ Vázquez and Marqués-Aguado 2012: 124.

¹⁷ Milroy 1987: 25; Bergs 2005: 17.

¹⁸ Janda and Joseph 2003: 37.

¹⁹ Mullen 2012: 13, 29; Mullen 2013: 55.

The ‘bad data problem’ is not just about the lack of completeness in historical corpora. More fundamentally, it is about the relationship between spoken and written language, since some scholars have assumed that written texts can be understood only in relation to spoken language.²⁰ Romaine’s response to Labov’s ‘bad data’ argument shows that this assumption is invalid:

Although historical data, of course, may be fragmentary ... the only way in which they can be bad in the other sense intended by Labov is by invidious or inappropriate comparison with the spoken language. Historical data can be valid in their own right (as can other instances of the written language) regardless of the extent to which they reflect or are removed from the productions of native speakers.²¹

Speech and writing should be seen as examples of the same language embodied in different media, each with ‘full autonomy as a vehicle for language’.²² Not all written forms of language are intended to represent a speech act, and a written piece can often have no spoken equivalent: the legalese of contracts and other documents is an obvious example.²³ In such cases, it is more accurate to talk about a written document being read out than a speech act being represented in writing. When discussing ancient texts, we will often come across epigraphic and linguistic decisions which could only be relevant to a written text. It is not always helpful to view these texts as representations of speech, but we cannot completely divorce the two. It may be that in some instances neither the speech nor the writing is ‘primary’, but both are intended to work together. Some rituals, from ancient curse tablets to modern marriage ceremonies, have both spoken and written elements which do not directly replicate each other. Even in written texts with no spoken equivalent, writers may be trying to represent speech-sounds, for example, by sounding out a word when unsure of the spelling. Speech and writing are separate, but they are constantly interacting.

²⁰ Labov 1972: 109; Schneider 2002: 69–70.

²¹ Romaine 1982: 122.

²² Romaine 1982: 14.

²³ Romaine 1982: 14.

Within historical sociolinguistics, the methods for approaching fragmentary languages are particularly problematic. Even the terminology for describing these languages has not been agreed: the most commonly used terms are fragmentary languages, ancient languages, dead languages and corpus languages. I hesitate to use the term ‘corpus languages’ because of the possible confusion with the distinct term ‘corpus linguistics’, which is the study of corpora made up of spoken or written material from any language, past or present. Langslow argues that the similarity between contemporary and historical languages should be drawn out by the use of the term ‘corpus languages’.²⁴ However, there is an important distinction to be drawn between languages such as Latin, Greek or Early Modern English, which provide many millions of words in both epigraphic and literary (manuscript) documents, and those languages which survive in much smaller epigraphic samples.²⁵ The German *Trümmersprache*, ‘remains-language’, is a helpful term to describe the idea of a language attested in a small, fragmentary corpus, but this is not commonly used in English.²⁶

Should we expect the sociolinguistic methods for fragmentary languages to be the same as for better-attested languages, such as Greek and Latin? It has been suggested that to reach reliable conclusions the number of attested tokens for a sociolinguistic variable should be at least fifteen, a goal that very poorly attested languages are unlikely to meet.²⁷ One approach would be to see fragmentary languages mainly as sources of extra-linguistic evidence of education and citizenship,

²⁴ Langslow 2002: 24.

²⁵ Today the TLG (Thesaurus Linguae Graecae) corpus of Greek (Homer to AD 1453) has over 105 million words (www.tlg.uci.edu/about); the Corpus of Early English Correspondence, including its extension, has 4.9 million words (www.helsinki.fi/varieng/domains/CEEC.html). Early English Books Online does not state a word-count on its website, but contains around 125,000 titles (<http://eebo.chadwyck.com/home>). For contemporary material, compare the British National Corpus, of 100 million words (www.natcorp.ox.ac.uk) and the Corpus of Contemporary American English, 450 million words (<http://corpus.byu.edu/coca>). All sites last accessed 26/06/2014.

²⁶ The word *Trümmersprache* is found used in a number of senses; for this sense, see Lass 1997: 274.

²⁷ Hernández-Campoy and Schilling 2012: 67.

through the use of personal names, alphabets and writing conventions.²⁸ This kind of information can reveal a great deal about how communities which experienced language contact, cultural contact and language death renegotiated their identities, and how this negotiation varied between individuals within the same communities. However, recent work has shown that it is possible to go beyond this, even with very fragmentary languages.

Concepts from modern studies on language contact, such as code-switching and interference (see below), have been used fruitfully in the study of ancient linguistics during the last decade, notably in the large-scale works by J. N. Adams.²⁹ This work shows that it is possible to analyse linguistic information even where a language is known only from a small corpus. However, the place of fragmentary languages is still misunderstood within historical sociolinguistics. For example, McColl Millar mistakenly equates the domains in which the fragmentary languages of Italy survive with the sum total of the domains for which these languages were ever used.³⁰ Because of such misunderstandings, the potential of fragmentary languages is far from being fully exploited, though recently some studies have set out to use interdisciplinary methodologies to reach a fuller understanding of small epigraphic corpora.³¹

Language and writing in ancient society

There are some issues which have been particularly contentious or problematic in ancient sociolinguistics, although other historical sociolinguists face them too. Before moving on to discuss the sociolinguistics of bilingualism in particular, it is worth addressing two of these difficult issues: identifying and contextualising the speech community, and estimating ancient literacy levels.

²⁸ Langslow 2002: 29. ²⁹ Adams 2003; Adams 2007; Adams 2013.

³⁰ McColl Millar 2012: 49. ³¹ Mullen 2013; Steele 2013.

Any study with a sociolinguistic element must define the ‘speech community’ under discussion, though this is a somewhat abstract and problematic idea.³² It is not often stated explicitly on what grounds a ‘speech community’ can be defined, and there is little agreement on how the term should be used:

The term ‘SpCom’ [speech community] has been used for geographically bounded urban communities, both large (Philadelphia)...and small (Anniston, Alabama)...; for urban neighborhoods (‘Veeton’ in Kingston, Jamaica)... and the French-speaking minority of Ontario, Canada... It has been denied for other cities (London)...but used for Anglo-Saxon England..., for urban immigrants..., and for the ‘national unity of a people’...Cutting across geographic and class lines, it has been used of very general assemblages such as children...and women..., as well as specific and temporary ones such as members of a jury.³³

It is not always clear, in other words, whether the ‘speech community’ should be defined on linguistic or social lines – is the speech community the group that speaks variety X, or the group that has social characteristic Y in common? As soon as bilingualism becomes a consideration, it is insufficient to define ‘speech community’ as ‘speakers of the same language or variety’ without eliding important information about the use of more than one language in the community.³⁴ Even a definition such as ‘bilingual speakers of the languages A and B’ is difficult, since we do not always want to exclude monolingual speakers living in a bilingual situation. It may therefore be helpful to define speech communities socially rather than linguistically.

One possible system for modelling speech communities is social network theory, which defines an individual speaker by their weak and strong ties to other individuals. The researcher builds up a picture of each speaker’s social network, and eventually the networks of the community as a whole.³⁵ This model has the advantage of being applicable to a range of locations and periods, and being useful for studying both large and

³² Labov 2001: 38. ³³ Patrick 2002: 574.

³⁴ Ross 1997: 214; Ross 2003: 176. ³⁵ Bergs 2005: 31–2.

small groups.³⁶ The speech community could be envisaged as a particular kind of social network, such that ‘a speech community consists of those people who communicate with one another or are connected to one another by chains of speakers who communicate with one another’.³⁷ Like other kinds of networks, this speech community could then be characterised as open or closed to outside influences, and tightknit or looseknit in its internal structure.³⁸ Previous work suggests that where a network is open and looseknit, there may be more susceptibility to innovation and language change.³⁹ Although it would not be possible to build up a detailed picture of social networks among speakers of a language like Oscan, this insight may help us to interpret relatively sparse evidence. For ancient languages, especially fragmentary languages, geographic delin-
eations of the speech community may be the most practical because this is the most readily available form of contextual information.

The focus of this book is the texts in the Oscan language written in forms of the Greek alphabet. This is a broadly geographic definition of a speech community (Lucania, Bruttium and Messana), but also to some extent a linguistic and cultural one (areas with at least some Oscan-speaking individuals, who used a particular writing system). We do not know if this is a grouping which anyone in the region would have recognised or identified with. There is some limited historical evidence for regional identities in Oscan-speaking Lucania and Bruttium, such as the formation of ‘leagues’, discussed in [Chapter 1](#).⁴⁰ As outlined in the previous chapter, our sources often put the ‘Lucani’ and the ‘Bruttii’ on the same side against a common enemy, though their alliances changed frequently. It is possible that these groups would have identified themselves more widely as part of Oscan-speaking Italy, or as ‘Samnites’.⁴¹

It is best, though, to see the South Oscan corpus as produced by a number of distinct speech communities that shared

³⁶ Milroy 1987: 172. ³⁷ Grace 1996: 172.

³⁸ Ross 2003: 179. ³⁹ Milroy 1987: 202; Ross 2003: 191.

⁴⁰ Purcell 1994: 386, 391. ⁴¹ Dench 1995: 208–9.

some general characteristics. The producers of these texts may also have felt that they came from a wider, regional or supra-regional (e.g. Lucanian, South Oscan, Oscan-speaking, or ‘Samnite’) speech community based on similarities of language or epigraphy, but we cannot assume this to be the case. It seems likely that the identity which mattered most to the peoples of the first millennium BC was their identity as a city or community. We should also stay attuned to the fact that there may be significant differences between areas and sites within the wider region. Bantia, for example, has been singled out in previous work as an area which may show a distinctive local language variety.⁴² There will, of course, have been variation within any speech community as well. These caveats aside, it is assumed here that we can to some extent contrast ‘South Oscan’ with both the ‘Central Oscan’ texts of Campania and Samnium, which were written mainly in the so-called Native or National Oscan alphabet adapted from the Etruscan alphabet but also used the Latin, Greek and Etruscan alphabets from time to time, and the ‘North Oscan’⁴³ texts in the Paelignian, Marrucian and Vestinian languages written mainly in the Latin alphabet.

Ancient sociolinguists need to be particularly careful in their descriptions of speech communities, because of the weight that is often given to language when seeking to identify ethnic groups.⁴⁴ It is not always made clear enough that a language or speech community is unlikely to map exactly onto an ethnic group.⁴⁵ The independence of ethnicity and language can easily be seen in the modern world. For example, there are citizens of the United States who would consider themselves of ‘Irish’ ethnicity, but whose families have not spoken Irish in generations, while first-language speakers of English come from many hundreds of ethnic groups. There are also many bilingual and multilingual speakers who nevertheless identify primarily with

⁴² Rix 1996: 259–60.

⁴³ For use of this term, see Dupraz 2010: 13 n. 1; Dupraz 2012b: 87.

⁴⁴ Derks and Roymans 2009: 2.

⁴⁵ For example, the influential work of E.T. Salmon often fails to make this distinction: Salmon 1967; Salmon 1982; Salmon 1988.

one ethnicity, political unit or other group. Political, ethnic or linguistic identities may also function on a number of tiered levels, rather than being mutually exclusive: local, regional, supra-regional, and so on.⁴⁶ To label the writer of a Greek-language inscription in Italy ‘a Greek’ is very unwise. The writer may speak Greek, and be literate in Greek, but any other statements about group membership must be tentative unless made explicit in the text of the inscription. In Lucania, the identification of language with ethnicity has been particularly problematic for sites such as Paestum. At this site, the change in the language of the epigraphy led scholars to suppose that the earlier Greek aristocracy was completely replaced, or even forcibly removed, by an Oscan-speaking population, but in fact there is likely to have been broad continuity of population.⁴⁷ We should also avoid the assumption inherent in these narratives that contact always involves mixing between previously well-defined groups.⁴⁸

Like languages, archaeological cultures – areas of material culture with common denominators that can be recognised in the physical evidence – should not be expected to match ethnic groups.⁴⁹ It is notoriously difficult for modern viewers to guess which objects or styles would have been salient to identity, and which would have been unremarkable. Moreover, artefacts may indicate not ethnicity but other features of the society which produced them. For example, material culture may be related to a cultural identity, such as membership of the Mediterranean-wide elite, rather than an ethnic identity; it may not be possible or desirable to separate these strands.⁵⁰ Material culture also varies within a single socio-cultural group, including contact situations such as ‘Romanisation’ and ‘Hellenisation’, where the adoption of ‘Roman’ or ‘Hellenised’ items or styles happens at different rates within one community.⁵¹

⁴⁶ Derks and Roymans 2009: 6; Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 17; Malkin 2011: 18.

⁴⁷ Wonder 2002: 40. ⁴⁸ Jones 1997: 104.

⁴⁹ Dench 1995: 12–13; Horsnaes 2002: 18; Isayev 2007: 11; Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 8–9; Giangulio 2010: 14.

⁵⁰ Dench 1995: 63–6; Yntema 2009: 146–7; Mullen 2013: 5.

⁵¹ Jones 1997: 135. See Chapter 1 for use of Romanisation and Hellenisation.

‘Hellenisation’ in particular involves particularly durable forms of material culture, such as ceramics and stone temples, which are more likely to survive than other items, potentially masking other contemporary material markers of identity.

Because the identification of ethnic groups in ancient Italy is so problematic, I refer primarily to ‘Oscan-speakers’, ‘Greek-speakers’ and so on, rather than ‘Greeks’ or ‘Oscans’ – in other words, the use of a particular language does not presuppose the writer’s membership in any particular ethnic, political or societal group. The term ‘Oscan-speaker’ should also not be taken to imply that the individual spoke *only* Oscan. The word ‘Oscans’ is not the ethnic name usually used for speakers of Oscan, and is thus confusing in itself. The usual terms are ‘Samnites’, ‘Lucani(ans)’, ‘Brettii/Bruttians’, and Mamertines, though apart from Mamertines these are exonyms and not necessarily the usual terms used by the Oscan-speakers themselves.⁵² I will avoid such terms unless it is helpful in the context.⁵³

The second major issue in ancient historical sociolinguistics is literacy. The debate on levels of literacy in the ancient world is ongoing, particularly since Harris’s monograph of 1989.⁵⁴ Harris estimated a literacy rate of around 5 to 15 per cent in Classical Attica and the Roman Empire.⁵⁵ Literacy in pre-Roman Italy could of course be much lower than the range suggested by Harris, with almost total illiteracy, as indeed must have been the case at the very earliest period of alphabet transmission, or

⁵² The term ‘Oscan’ derives from the Greek and Latin name for a group called the ‘Osci’ or ‘Opici’, who supposedly inhabited the western coast of Southern Italy before the spread of the Oscan-speaking ‘Samnites’ from Central Italy, e.g. Strabo 5.4.8. ‘Osci’ and ‘Opici’ are not used consistently in antiquity. See Clackson 2012b: 135–7.

⁵³ For the recent use of Oenotrian to refer to a population group in Italy, see for example the title of Lazzarini and Poccetti 2001; and use by Fracchia 2004: 71; for a rejection of this and similar terms, see Crawford 2011b: 8.

⁵⁴ Harris 1989; the literature on ancient literacy is now extensive. See for example several major collections of articles: Beard *et al.* 1991; Bowman and Woolf 1994; Lomas, Whitehouse and Wilkins 2007; Johnson and Parker 2009; for detailed bibliography on this subject, see in particular Werner 2009.

⁵⁵ Harris 1989: 22 (Roman Empire), 114, 328 (Attica), 267 (Roman Italy); for arguments for a much higher level of literacy among male Athenian citizens than assumed by Harris, see Missiou 2011.

it could be nearer the 15 per cent mark. There could also be a considerable discrepancy between the ability to read and the ability to write. The breadth of possible literacy levels makes a drastic difference to the kinds of claims we can make about the purpose of writing and the intention behind various inscriptions, though this may not be an issue that we have the evidence to resolve.

To my knowledge, no scholars have made estimates of the level of literacy in pre-Roman Italy in languages other than Latin or Greek.⁵⁶ Harris refers briefly to the possibility that the areas of Italy which had previously been Oscan-speaking were among the most literate, suggesting that literacy may have been relatively high in Oscan-speaking Campania. Using as an indication of literacy the number of monumental Latin inscriptions *c.* 50–250 AD per 1,000 sq kms for each of the Augustan regions of Italy, he notes that the ‘most interesting result’ of the ranking is the relatively high level of literacy in the formerly Oscan- and Umbrian-speaking areas of Central Italy, but does not note that Lucania, also formally Oscan-speaking, is right at the bottom of the ranking.⁵⁷

Harris’s assessment of higher and lower levels of literacy across the regions of Italy is unconvincing.⁵⁸ The discrepancy could equally have been caused by wealthy regions producing more inscriptions capable of lasting to the modern day, rather than containing more literate people. More inscriptions are discovered in Campania because of the intense modern interest in sites on the bay of Naples, the high state of preservation of these sites and the number of building works uncovering ancient artefacts in and around Naples, in contrast with the depopulation and lack of building in modern Basilicata and Calabria. Communities which developed norms that included writing large numbers of inscriptions of a number of different types on non-perishable materials are also likely to appear more ‘literate’ to us. Arguments which rely on the

⁵⁶ Lomas’s statement that the Sabellian-speaking ‘cultures were largely, although not entirely, non-literate’ could equally apply to ancient Greek or Roman culture. Lomas 1996: 141.

⁵⁷ Harris 1989: 266. ⁵⁸ Cooley 2012: 307.

archaeologically visible texts constituting the entire epigraphic habit of any given community are therefore flawed.⁵⁹

There is little reason to think that many ancient communities reached a literacy level above 10 to 15 per cent, though some sections of society such as the male aristocracy and craftsmen may have seen much higher levels of literacy.⁶⁰ There is no reason to suppose that Oscan-speaking communities were either more or less literate than similar communities that spoke Greek or Latin. It is perfectly possible for a bilingual speaker of Oscan and Greek or Oscan and Latin to be literate in both, either or neither.

Language contact and contact-induced change

Having discussed the challenges facing any sociolinguistic study of ancient languages, we will now consider bilingualism and language contact more specifically. There is evidence of a huge number of languages in the ancient world in the form of inscriptions or comments by ancient authors, and language contact would have been an everyday occurrence in almost all regions.⁶¹ Contact between Latin and other languages, and the resulting diversification of Latin, has been studied in particular by Adams.⁶² In recent years, a number of new volumes on ancient language contact have appeared which have stressed the need to take account of multiple forms of linguistic, epigraphic, archaeological and historical information to develop a fuller picture of ancient language contact.⁶³ One facet of this work is a strong understanding of the sociolinguistics of bilingualism.

The term ‘bilingualism’ can refer to two different phenomena, though there is not yet complete agreement on the terminology. ‘Societal bilingualism’ occurs in a community where two (or more) languages are spoken.⁶⁴ ‘Individual

⁵⁹ For this argument, see McColl Millar 2012: 49. ⁶⁰ Harris 1989: 22, 328.

⁶¹ Langslow 2002: 25. ⁶² Adams 2003; Adams 2007.

⁶³ Ruiz Darasse 2011: 4; Mullen 2012: 13; Mullen 2013: 3; Tribulato 2012b: 42–5.

⁶⁴ ‘Bilingualism’ is often used as the general term no matter how many languages are being spoken, though ‘multilingualism’ can also be used where three or more languages are concerned.

bilingualism’ refers to one person’s ability to speak two (or more) languages. Modern scholars usually take a relatively broad definition of individual bilingualism – anyone who actively uses two languages at some level of proficiency may be defined as bilingual.⁶⁵ Societal and individual bilingualism often occur together, but it is also possible for a bilingual community to contain mostly monolingual speakers, or for a bilingual speaker to live in a monolingual community. Societal bilingualism is sometimes called ‘diglossia’ to distinguish it from individual bilingualism, but for many scholars diglossia refers only to the situations where one language is of higher prestige than the other(s), and this is how diglossia will be used in this book. In many cases it is individual bilingualism and language choice, rather than societal bilingualism, for which we have the best evidence in ancient languages.⁶⁶

One aspect of understanding bilingualism is analysing why individuals chose a particular language for a task. Domain, or immediate social context, has long been used to understand language choice in spoken bilingualism; this issue was most famously raised by Fishman in the 1960s.⁶⁷ The importance of domain in relation to written languages has been recognised recently by Schendl, who notes that ‘patterns are often text-type related and cannot be generalised to other text types’.⁶⁸ A few papers have begun to explore the possibility of using domain to describe and explore language use in bilingual ancient communities,⁶⁹ but the full impact of domain as a tool in understanding language contact in fragmentary languages has not yet been explored in detail. In this book, I use ‘domain’ to refer to an area of life, such as religion, politics, home life,⁷⁰ while ‘genre’ refers to a type of text, such as dedications, laws

⁶⁵ Adams 2003: 8; Edwards 2006: 8–11.

⁶⁶ See for example Prosdocimi 1976: 810. He discounts many instances of Greek influence on Oscan, commenting that the vast majority of ‘grecisms’ (i.e. borrowings from Greek) in Oscan are a matter of ‘parole’ and not ‘langue’. This focus ignores the importance of individual bilingualism in our evidence.

⁶⁷ Fishman 1965; Fishman 1967; García, Schiffman and Zacariah 2006.

⁶⁸ Schendl 2012: 522. ⁶⁹ Bats 2011; Clackson 2012a; Langslow 2012.

⁷⁰ Fishman’s original list of domains was ‘family, friendship, religion, education and employment’, though he notes that many other domains are possible – Fishman 1964: 49–51.

and curses. More than one genre of text may form part of the same domain, and one genre may belong to several domains.

Language contact is interaction between languages with mutual speakers. These interactions can have different outcomes, including language change and language death, based on a number of factors. In their classic treatment of language contact, Thomason and Kaufman showed that (a) any aspect of language can be subject to contact-induced change, and (b) the extent and type of contact-induced change are determined by social factors, not properties of the languages involved, such as genetic closeness.⁷¹ These social factors may include: the relative status of the languages, such as the existence of a diglossic relationship between a high status (H) variety and a lower status (L) variety;⁷² how ‘open’ or ‘closed’ the speech communities are;⁷³ the number and prestige of bilingual speakers; the visibility of the languages in public spaces;⁷⁴ and the use of particular languages in specific domains.⁷⁵ A useful term here is ‘ethnolinguistic vitality’, which acts as an umbrella term for the factors which determine the likelihood that the language is maintained.⁷⁶ Where ethnolinguistic vitality is low for one language, it is likely that the speech community will experience language shift (unstable societal bilingualism); where it is high for both languages, it is likely that both languages will be maintained (stable societal bilingualism). Although we know of many factors which can contribute to ethnolinguistic vitality, it is not possible to predict the outcome in any given situation before it unfolds.⁷⁷

The outcomes of language contact are collectively called ‘contact phenomena’ or ‘contact-induced change’ – that is, one

⁷¹ Thomason and Kaufman 1988: 19; Janse 2003: x; though see Mullen 2013: 63 for the possibility that some contact phenomena (e.g. the formation of pidgins and creoles) may only occur in typologically different languages.

⁷² Fishman 1967; ‘diglossia’ may also occur between two varieties of the same language: Hamers and Blanc 1989: 174–5.

⁷³ Ross 2003: 191; Mullen 2013: 93.

⁷⁴ This aspect is sometimes known as the Linguistic Landscape. See Landry and Bourhis 1997; Blackwood 2011.

⁷⁵ Schendl 2012: 522.

⁷⁶ Crystal 2000: 144; see Mullen 2013: 69–70 for more detail and bibliography.

⁷⁷ Myers-Scotton 2005: 69–70.

or more of the languages end up with features they did not have before contact. Language contact can affect almost any aspect of the languages involved, including the lexicon, phonology, morphology and syntax, which may or may not affect the language's overall typology.⁷⁸ Not only can contact-induced change affect any system of the language, it can also act in a number of different ways, resulting in borrowing, calques, loan-shifts, and code-switching.

Borrowing is 'the incorporation of foreign elements into the speakers' native language'.⁷⁹ This term generally implies that features have been taken from L2 to L1, where L1 is a speaker's native language and L2 is any non-native language they speak, though it is not always used strictly in this sense. Thomason and Kaufman make a distinction between 'borrowing' (from L2 to L1) and 'interference' (from L1 to L2). Unlike borrowing, which typically begins with lexical items, interference is likely to act first on phonology and syntax.⁸⁰ This interference may come to affect the whole L2, or it may stay limited to the shifting group and have little lasting impact on the L2 as a whole. Here, borrowing and interference will generally be used in these senses, with 'influence' as a more general term, to be used when the direction of transmission may not be known. Interference is sometimes described as 'substratum influence', because it often involves speakers of a lower-prestige language shifting to a higher-prestige language; these speakers import features from their L1 into their L2 through imperfect learning.⁸¹

Calques are a form of borrowing, by which the word is 'translated' rather than being borrowed directly. For example, in German *Fernsprecher* 'telephone, lit. distant-speaker' the (Greek-derived) English elements have been replaced by native German elements of equivalent meaning.⁸² In Latin, calques

⁷⁸ Heine and Nurse 2008: 2–3. ⁷⁹ Thomason and Kaufman 1988: 21.

⁸⁰ Thomason and Kaufman 1988: 39.

⁸¹ Thomason and Kaufman 1988: 38–9. The terms 'adstratum' or 'superstratum' are sometimes used when the L1 is of equal or higher prestige than the L2. I do not use the terms sub-/ad-/superstratum, since they are often vague, and none of them is particularly helpful in defining the relationship between Oscan and Greek.

⁸² *Fernsprecher* has now been more or less replaced by the borrowing *Telefon*. Matras 2009: 245.

are common in rhetoric, grammar, philosophy and other genres which draw on Greek models, such as Cicero's calque *qualitas* from Greek ποιότης, 'quality'.⁸³

'Loan-shift' describes a borrowing-like process by which the meaning of a word is expanded on the basis of the semantic field of a near-equivalent word in another language. For example, Spanish *papel* 'paper' has acquired the additional meaning '(news)paper', on the basis of the English use of *paper* for both objects.⁸⁴ In Latin, the term *casus* 'a fall, event' expanded its meaning to include the technical sense of 'grammatical case' on the analogy of Greek πτῶσις, 'a fall, (bad) event, grammatical case'.⁸⁵ These kinds of changes to meanings are not restricted to technical registers, and are also found in the speech of lower-class characters in Plautus.⁸⁶

It is possible to identify a loose scale of borrowing, from the lowest degree of contact to the highest. In general terms, lexical items are the most easily borrowed, with structural features being borrowed or undergoing interference only in circumstances of intense contact.⁸⁷ This borrowing scale is abridged from Thomason and Kaufman.⁸⁸

- (1) Casual contact, lexical borrowing only. Content words.
- (2) Slightly more intense contact, slight structural borrowing. Function words. New phonemes in loanwords. In syntax, new functions and new orderings that cause little typological disruption.
- (3) More intense contact, slightly more structural borrowing. Function words, derivational affixes, some basic vocabulary. Phonemisation of previously allophonic alternations.
- (4) Strong cultural pressure, moderate structural borrowing. Major structural features that cause relatively little typological change.
- (5) Very strong cultural pressure, heavy structural borrowing. Major structural features that cause significant typological disruption.

The idea of scales of borrowing could be applied to Oscan/Greek contact in a number of ways. On the one hand, neither Oscan nor Greek died out in Italy because of pressure

⁸³ Adams 2003: 459.

⁸⁴ Matras 2009: 246.

⁸⁵ Adams 2003: 462.

⁸⁶ Adams 2003: 465.

⁸⁷ Matras 2007.

⁸⁸ Thomason and Kaufman 1988: 74–6.

from the other. We might expect, therefore, relatively light borrowing and interference and a correspondingly low level of linguistic and cultural contact as experienced by the speakers. On the other hand, we should not always generalise across the language as a whole, since in areas such as Naples and Sicily, we know that Oscan-speakers were under intense social pressure to shift to Greek, and we believe that they did within a relatively short period.⁸⁹ Even within these areas, the experience of individuals must have varied, with some people feeling under greater social and economic pressure to shift language than others. We should therefore not be at all surprised to find evidence from any and all parts of Thomason and Kaufman's scale in this region during this period.

Some other features resulting from language contact are associated more with spoken language, although they can occur in certain types of written texts. Code-switching involves a bilingual speaker alternating between his or her available languages in the same utterance.⁹⁰ Often this is a phenomenon that occurs when bilinguals speak to each other; it can serve a variety of different purposes, many of which are exploited deliberately by the speaker to achieve a particular effect.⁹¹ For example, switches can be a marker of in-group solidarity, in situations where bilingualism is a marker of membership of a particular group. Adams's work has shown code-switching to be a mark of intimacy and shared culture in Cicero's letters to Atticus, with the topic of the letter also being relevant to the frequency of code-switching.⁹² The boundary between borrowing and code-switching is not clearly defined,

⁸⁹ Clackson 2012b.

⁹⁰ Some of the most recent work on modern bilingualism rejects the idea of 'code-switching' in favour of the new term 'translanguaging'. This term is intended to underline the fact that bilinguals do not have two or more separate repertoires which they alternate between, but 'one linguistic repertoire with features that have been societally constructed as belonging to two separate languages'. García and Li 2014: 2, 22–5. This insight is based on new research in cognitive linguistics and bilingual education. This term could certainly be extended to apply to the ancient world, though I have not used it here. See Hornberger and Link 2012; Lewis, Jones and Baker 2012; García and Li 2014.

⁹¹ Matras 2009: 309. ⁹² Adams 2003: 344–5.

since one-word code-switches can appear very similar to borrowings.⁹³

Other possible outcomes in contact situations include pidgins, creoles and mixed languages. Pidgins arise as contact languages used in restricted social settings, such as trade situations between two groups with no common language, and are no one's first language.⁹⁴ A possible historical example is the Romance-based Mediterranean *Lingua Franca* used for trade around 1000–1800 AD.⁹⁵ Creoles develop either where a pidgin develops a full grammar and becomes the native language of some speakers, or by 'abrupt creolisation' during a language shift where the shifting population acquire the vocabulary of an L2 but little of its grammar.⁹⁶ Creoles and pidgins are very rarely written down, and so these terms are not often used when discussing epigraphic corpora.⁹⁷ Some inscriptions can be helpfully understood as being written in a 'mixed language', taking features from two different languages, with no overall matrix (dominant) language. This is not always easy to distinguish from code-switching in written texts, but we could consider a text to be mixed when it is not possible for us to distinguish the matrix language.

In order to maximise our ability to compare evidence from a variety of bilingual environments, it is important to try to standardise the terms used of bilingual written texts. In particular, terms such as 'mixed text' or 'mixed language text' have been used in quite different ways by different scholars.⁹⁸ If these terms are standardised, it becomes much easier to compare results across the ancient world, and to build up typological models for how ancient written texts may reflect different levels of language contact. The clearest 'typology of bilingual texts' is that produced by Mullen, based on the earlier work of Adams

⁹³ Clyne 2003: 73–6; Myers-Scotton 2005: 253–60; Matras 2009: 106.

⁹⁴ Thomason and Kaufman 1988: 170–1. ⁹⁵ Mallette 2014.

⁹⁶ Thomason and Kaufman 1988: 48. ⁹⁷ Adams 2003: 93.

⁹⁸ See for example Adams 2003: 102, where 'mixed language' refers to a language combining Latin lexicon with Greek morphological endings; Adams 2003: 408, however, uses 'mixture' to refer to code-switching inscriptions; Beltrán Lloris and Estarán Tolosa 2011: 16 on the other hand use 'mixed' to refer to bi-version texts containing different information in the two versions.

Table 2 *Typology of bilingual texts, after Mullen (2012, 2013)*

1. Bi-version (tri-version) bilingual (trilingual) texts	Two separate parts in different languages and ‘a content which is usually, at least in part, common to both’. ^a
2. Texts displaying bilingual phenomena	Composed in language A, but showing interference/code-switching/borrowing from language B.
3. Mixed-language texts ^b	3a. Written in genetically mixed languages (e.g. pidgins and creoles), or 3b. Codes that are so mixed that it is impossible to identify the dominant language.
4. Transliterated texts	Composed in language A, but the script is that of language B.

^a Adams 2003: 30.

^b Mullen differs from Adams here, since Adams includes code-switching of any kind in ‘mixed-language texts’. However, Mullen’s distinction seems more useful in reflecting different levels of intensity of language contact. Mullen 2012: 17; Mullen 2013: 85; Adams 2003: 30.

(Table 2).⁹⁹ These definitions of key terms will be followed in the rest of this book, though not every text type shown is relevant to this corpus. Mullen also provides the clearest model of the kinds of societies which produce certain texts (Table 3). We will revisit this model in Chapter 8.

Greek/Oscan contact – the state of research

The South Oscan corpus as it exists currently has a much shorter history than the Oscan corpus as a whole. Mommsen’s edition, *Die unteritalischen Dialekte* (1850), includes only half a dozen inscriptions in the Greek alphabet, plus a few tile stamps and coins.¹⁰⁰ He includes the Tabula Bantina as

⁹⁹ Mullen 2012: 16; Mullen 2013: 84. For an alternative model, see Leiwo 2002.

¹⁰⁰ Mommsen 1850: 190–9.

Table 3 *Models of language contact, after Mullen (2012, 2013)^a*

Type of community	One language			Two (or more) languages	
	Closed	Open, high ethnolinguistic vitality	Open, low ethnolinguistic vitality	Even ethnolinguistic vitality	Uneven ethnolinguistic vitality
Types of bilingual texts	No bi-version. No texts displaying bilingual phenomena.	No bi-version. Few texts displaying bilingual phenomena, perhaps including lexical borrowing.	No bi-version. Texts displaying bilingual phenomena involving lexical borrowing, perhaps tag-switching.	Bi-version common. Texts displaying bilingual phenomena involving code-switching, borrowing, interference. Bi-directional influence.	Fewer bi-version texts. Texts displaying bilingual phenomena involving code-switching, borrowing, interference. Linguistic features of the higher-vitality group mainly found in the lower.

^a Mullen 2012: 16; Mullen 2013: 93; Langslow 2012: 292.

‘Das römische Gesetz für Bantia’.¹⁰¹ By the time Conway wrote his 1897 edition, around twenty inscriptions in the Greek alphabet were available – he puts the inscriptions of Lucania, Bruttium and Messana (but not the Tabula Bantina) in a subset called ‘Southern Oscan’.¹⁰² Writing in 1904, Buck was aware of the use of the Greek alphabet ‘in a few inscriptions of Sicily and Southern Italy’.¹⁰³ Vetter’s *Handbuch der italischen Dialekte* includes a number of ‘Südostkische Inschriften’, grouping Lucania/Bruttium and Messana together in one section, though treating the Tabula Bantina separately.¹⁰⁴ At this stage, the corpus was still less than one-fifth of its current size.

The corpus was hugely expanded in the second half of the twentieth century, mainly as a result of the excavations of Dinu Adameşteanu at sites including Rossano di Vaglio. Many of the newly discovered texts were edited by Poccetti as a supplement to Vetter’s edition.¹⁰⁵ In the twenty-first century, Rix’s *Sabellische Texte* gathered almost all the previously published material into one edition.¹⁰⁶ At around the same time, an edition of the coins of the region was published by Rutter.¹⁰⁷ More recently, some additions and adjustments to the corpus have been made by Crawford in *Imagines Italicae*.¹⁰⁸ Apart from the addition of some new texts, this edition has considerable advantages over *Sabellische Texte*, especially in inclusion of photographs and the amount of epigraphic and archaeological information. Because this information has only been easily accessible for a few years, the South Oscan texts remain significantly understudied.

In particular, the evidence of language contact and bilingualism in the corpus has been neglected. Oscan-speakers, particularly those in the south, lived in a multilingual region, and ancient authors give many examples of both individual and

¹⁰¹ Mommsen 1850: 145–68. ¹⁰² Conway 1897.

¹⁰³ Buck 1928: 23. He includes five such inscriptions in his collection, plus a few coin legends.

¹⁰⁴ Numbers 180–99, Vetter 1953.

¹⁰⁵ Poccetti 1979; see also further editions with drawings and photographs by Lejeune and Del Tutto Palma: Lejeune 1990; Del Tutto Palma 1990.

¹⁰⁶ Rix 2002. ¹⁰⁷ Rutter 2001. ¹⁰⁸ Crawford 2011b.

societal bilingualism. Ennius (*Ann.* 477S) calls the Bruttians bilingual, and a gloss on this suggests that Ennius had in mind Oscan/Greek bilingualism.¹⁰⁹ Aulus Gellius (17.17.1) says that Ennius himself had three hearts, because he was trilingual in Oscan, Greek and Latin.¹¹⁰ The *Canusini bilingues* of Horace *Satire* 1.10.30 were also presumably bilingual in Greek and Oscan.¹¹¹ Dio Chrysostom tells a story of a Lucanian ambassador who delivered a speech to a Syracusan court in impeccable Doric Greek.¹¹² In Campania, Strabo (5.4.7) mentions that some Oscan-speakers were given full citizenship in Greek-speaking Naples.¹¹³ A passage of Aristoxenus of Tarentum, preserved in Athenaeus (*Deipno.* 14.632), describes a language shift away from Greek – he comments on a change of language (φωνή) and the resulting barbarisation (ἐκβεβαρβάρωσθαι) of the Greek-speakers of Paestum, who became ‘Etruscans and Romans’, though Oscan-speakers may be the ‘barbarians’ he means to refer to.¹¹⁴ Livy records resistance to this kind of language shift, describing the refusal of the people of the Greek city of Croton to allow an influx of Bruttian colonists, in case it meant that their language would be replaced.¹¹⁵

Despite the ancient testimonia and our current understanding of the archaeological evidence, which also shows evidence of ongoing interaction over many centuries, there has been relatively little scholarship devoted to Greek/Oscan contact in Italy. Prodocimi wrote an article on ‘grecisms’ in Oscan in 1976, though this dealt mainly with Central Oscan texts.¹¹⁶ As can be seen in the term ‘grecisms’, this article lacked the perspective of modern theory on contact linguistics, and as such did not clearly differentiate between borrowing, interference, code-switching and other contact

¹⁰⁹ Paul. Fest. 25L. *bilingues Bruttaces: Ennius dixit quod Brutti et Osce et Graece loqui soliti sunt*. To a Roman audience, bilingualism may have connoted deceitfulness. Dench 1995: 77.

¹¹⁰ *Quintus Ennius tria corda habere sese dicebat, quod loqui Graece et Osce et Latine sciret*. There has been some debate on whether Ennius was an Oscan-speaker, since he came from an area of Apulia where Messapic was spoken rather than Oscan. Strabo 6.3.5.

¹¹¹ Purcell 1994: 403; Adams 2003: 149. ¹¹² Dio Chrys. *Or.* 27.24.

¹¹³ Lomas 1996: 138. ¹¹⁴ Wonder 2002: 41.

¹¹⁵ Livy 24.3.10. ¹¹⁶ Prodocimi 1976.

phenomena. Around the same time, Lazzeroni published an article on Greek/Oscan contact, particularly as regards onomastics. His conclusion that some ‘Oscans’ wrote Greek but no ‘Greeks’ wrote in Oscan shows that he was not allowing for widespread bilingualism.¹¹⁷ Lejeune’s work on the texts of Rossano also tended to play down the role of Greek at Oscan-speaking sites.¹¹⁸

More recently, Greek/Oscan contact has been studied in relation to the onomastics of the Greek inscriptions of Naples by Leiwo.¹¹⁹ Adams also gives a brief three-page overview of Greek/Oscan contact ‘without attempting to achieve anything like a complete coverage of the subject’.¹²⁰ He notes the use of the Greek alphabet to write Oscan in the south, and identifies Naples as an important contact area.¹²¹ Language contact in South Oscan inscriptions has been mentioned in more recent work by Poccetti,¹²² although generally in reference to particular inscriptions or small groups of inscriptions, such as curse tablets.¹²³ Pugliese Carratelli has commented on the Greek influence on a curse tablet from Laos.¹²⁴ Clackson has recently written on Oscan in contact with Greek in Sicily.¹²⁵

The lack of focus on Greek/Oscan language contact has been commented on a number of times.¹²⁶ However, the level of contact with Greek has sometimes been played down in the published editions, making some contact phenomena less obvious. For example, both Lu 23 and Lu 45 have unfinished Greek-language texts which precede the Oscan, but in both cases Rix’s *Sabellische Texte* does not print the Greek portions of the text. *ST* also does not include coins produced for Oscan-speaking communities where the legends have Greek morphological endings. The new edition by Crawford, however, takes the opposite position, printing not just the Greek portions of these texts and

¹¹⁷ Lazzeroni 1972: 2; see also Lazzeroni 1974.

¹¹⁸ Lejeune 1990.

¹¹⁹ Leiwo 1995.

¹²⁰ Adams 2003: 148–50.

¹²¹ Adams 2003: 148.

¹²² Poccetti and Gualtieri 1990; Lazzarini and Poccetti 2001; Poccetti 2009c; Poccetti 2010.

¹²³ Poccetti 2000; Poccetti and Gualtieri 1990.

¹²⁴ Pugliese Carratelli 1992: 17.

¹²⁵ Clackson 2012b.

¹²⁶ Dench 1995: 5; Wonder 2002: 41; Adams 2003: 148.

Greek-language coin legends, but also other Greek-language texts from the Oscan-speaking period of some sites. This new edition is an indispensable tool in understanding language contact in South Oscan.

Approaches to fragmentary languages

To conclude, I will outline some of the general approaches I have taken in this study of language contact in the South Oscan corpus. These principles are derived from the discussion of modern sociolinguistics in this introduction, and are intended to be widely applicable to other small epigraphic corpora.

- (1) The corpus should be studied at multiple levels, including individual texts, groups of multiple similar texts, and the entire corpus, in order to draw the most detailed picture of the language, writing system and society.
- (2) The genre or text-type must be considered, and where possible texts should be considered as a part of a group with other texts of a similar type. Texts should be contextualised within their domain or social context.
- (3) The language of a text should not be separated from its layout, physical appearance, epigraphy or archaeological context.
- (4) Where applicable, a text will be considered in relation to the range of possible responses it evoked, or was intended to evoke. These responses may be based on the text's context, epigraphy and associated monument, as well as partial or full readings of the text, or a combination of these.

Point 1 mirrors Labov's methods of the 1970s, in which brief interviews with a large sample of the speech community were complemented by longer, more detailed studies of individuals and small groups to attempt to give a more balanced picture. This also takes into consideration the abstract nature of the 'speech community', which is best represented neither by individuals nor by pooling the evidence from many speakers/writers, but by a combination of both methods.

Where the corpus is small, different types of text may give us very different results, and so we must recognise the role of genre and domain in bilingual speech and writing (point 2). The

language of the text (including the lexicon, syntax, onomastics and formulae), the style of epigraphy and the archaeological context may be genre-specific. It is not always useful, therefore, to pool information from many different genres and treat them as though they were all from equivalent sources. For this reason, I consider different genres of documents as separate groups.

We must also strive for a multimodal analysis of any inscribed object, which takes into account all possible contextual information (point 3).¹²⁷ The traditional layout of editions of texts has, regrettably, completely divorced the epigraphy and appearance of fragmentary texts from their language.¹²⁸ This was done partly for practical reasons of cost, but as a result the disciplines of linguistics, epigraphy and archaeology were systematically separated for much of the twentieth century. This has led to misleading or incorrect conclusions, particularly where the editions contain errors or little explanation of editorial decisions. The most recent work on ancient language contact, however, stresses the importance of an interdisciplinary approach where possible.¹²⁹

Point 4 suggests a pragmatic approach to the issue of analysing written texts from a low-literacy society. Literacy rates were low in ancient Italy, but this does not necessarily mean that each inscribed object had only a tiny audience. An observer might recognise a familiar name, format, monument type or alphabet, without being able to read the whole inscription.¹³⁰ Inscriptions themselves could be effective without being read in full, and these kinds of responses need to be taken into account.¹³¹

Following these principles, I am confident that we can understand the content and context of ancient inscriptions from fragmentary corpora more thoroughly than ever before. There will

¹²⁷ For the term ‘multimodality’ in the analysis of multilingual written texts, see Sebba 2013.

¹²⁸ Vetter 1953; Poccetti 1979; Rix 2002.

¹²⁹ Dupraz 2010: 189; Ruiz Darasse 2011: 2; Mullen 2013: 19–21.

¹³⁰ Cooley 2012: 285, 307–9. ¹³¹ Day 2010: 31.

inevitably be details and nuances which will be missed, just as happens in studies of better-attested languages. But we can now progress towards a better grasp of the multilingual world of ancient Italy, and an improved insight into the languages and history of this pivotal region of the Mediterranean.

ALPHABETS, EPIGRAPHY AND ORTHOGRAPHY

The South Oscan alphabet

From the first half of the fifth century BC, there was experimentation with various Greek alphabets to write Italic languages across Southern Italy. One of the earliest pieces of evidence for a Greek alphabet being used to write a Sabellian language is Ps 20 (Blanda 1), which is a legal text written in an adapted Achaean Greek script.¹ In the first half of the fifth century, a number of texts in the Achaean alphabet were also produced at Fratte di Salerno, Campania, alongside texts written in the Oscan and Etruscan alphabets.² Other Oscan-language texts produced in Campania used the Euboean alphabet of Naples or the Ionic alphabet.³ In the first half of the fourth century, the Greek Ionic alphabet was used for some Oscan inscriptions on dedicatory helmets. These could have been produced by Oscan-speakers from Campania who happened to be involved in fighting further south, but could also be considered the earliest attestations of development of the ‘South Oscan’ alphabet of Lucania.⁴

The South Oscan alphabet was adapted from the Hellenistic Ionic Greek alphabet used in a number of the Greek settlements in Southern Italy, in contrast to Central Oscan (and Latin), which received the Euboean Greek alphabet through the intermediary of Etruscan.⁵ The creation of the South Oscan

¹ See [Chapter 6](#).

² Salernum 1, Ps 8 (Salernum 2), Salernum 3. See also Poccetti and Lazzarini 2009.

³ Euboean alphabet: Cm 37 (Picentia 2), 425–400 BC. Ionic alphabet: Cm 31 (Picentia 3), c. 300 BC.

⁴ Lu 19 (Lucania 1), Lu 18 (Luc. Bret. Sic 3), Lu 37 (Metapontum 1) – Cristofani 1998: 276.

⁵ Some scholars use the terms Osco-Greek, Osco-Etruscan (or ‘Native’ Oscan) and Osco-Latin for Oscan written in the adapted Ionic Greek alphabet, the adapted Etruscan alphabet and the Latin alphabet respectively. I prefer the terms South Oscan,

alphabet probably took place at some time during the first half of the fourth century BC, perhaps half a century after the Central Oscan alphabet.⁶ The precise timing and mechanism of this transmission is still a matter of considerable debate, and this has a knock-on effect on our understanding of the degree and duration of Greek influence on the Oscan-speaking communities of Italy.

When an existing alphabet is used to represent a new language, there are always compromises and adaptations. In many cases, the newly adapted alphabet shows inconsistent usages, variation across different communities or changes over time. These differences are not linguistic variation strictly speaking, since the spelling of a word in one way or another does not necessarily reflect any variation in the spoken language. There were some established norms of spelling in Oscan, though they were rather more flexible than today's standards of 'correct' spelling, and we should think of them as tendencies and preferences rather than absolutes.⁷ There may also have been variation in norms between communities, as in modern British and American spelling norms. Like linguistic variation, orthographic variation can reveal social differences, attitudes to other languages and the strength of social norms within the group. Orthographic variation is therefore a key source for the historical sociolinguistics of fragmentary languages.

This chapter will deal with the debates surrounding South Oscan epigraphy and orthography that are most relevant to the issue of language contact. First, I will explore the original adaptation of the alphabet, especially the origin of the sign for /f/. The development of this sign has implications for the original transmission of the alphabet and the extent of ongoing contact between Greek, Central Oscan and South Oscan. I will go on to discuss the orthography of South Oscan, particularly in regard to 'extra' characters – that is, letters like psi and xi which represent two phonemes, and chi, phi and theta, which in Greek

Central Oscan and North Oscan, since they cause less ambiguity about the language of the inscription.

⁶ Lejeune 1970: 272.

⁷ For more detail on the orthography of vowels, see Zair 2013: 222.

The development of signs for /f/

represent phonemes not found in Oscan. While none of these letters is needed to represent the sounds of Oscan, they are all used to various extents in South Oscan epigraphy. Their patterns of usage indicate that South Oscan communities developed norms as to the kinds of texts and words in which these characters were most appropriate.

The development of signs for /f/

Signs for /f/ in the languages of Italy

The development of a sign to represent the phoneme /f/ was a problem for all of the languages of Italy which adopted some form of the Greek alphabet. Etruscan, Latin, Umbrian, South Picene, 'Pre-Samnite' and Oscan all responded in various ways to this need.⁸ Different strategies included the use of digamma, which originally represented /w/ in Greek, the adaptation of digamma to <↑>, and the development of new signs such as <8> and <: >. A summary of the forms used for /f/ in different languages is given below.⁹

FH	early Etruscan, Old Hernican (?archaic Latin)
F	Latin (?Pre-Samnite)
↑	Faliscan; Old Umbrian
8	Etruscan (from 575 BC on); Oscan; Umbrian; Old Sabine (Poggio Sommavilla)
:	South Picene (Old Volscian)
𐌃 or 𐌄	'Pre-Samnite' (South Picene /w/)

The 'Pre-Samnite' inscription Ps 20 may have invented the half-bow sign for /f/ independently, though it may be related to the almost identical sign that South Picene uses for /w/.¹⁰ The similarity of these characters and some linguistic similarities between South Picene and the 'Pre-Samnite' of Tortora have led some scholars to argue not only that the languages were extremely close genetically but that the populations were in contact. Rix has argued that the Tortora inscription

⁸ Lejeune 1966; Stuart-Smith 2004: 34. ⁹ Stuart-Smith 2004: 34.

¹⁰ Crawford 2011b: 19; Stuart-Smith 2004: 37.

was written by migrants to the south from Picenum in the seventh or sixth century, and that they were already familiar with the South Picene alphabet when they emigrated.¹¹ This interpretation is still a matter of debate,¹² but it is more likely that these signs represent two independent adaptations of digamma.

The origins of <8>, and the reduced South Picene version < : >, are not clear.¹³ The sign was introduced into all Etruscan alphabets around 600–550 BC.¹⁴ We do not know whether the sign was an adaptation of , <H> or neither.¹⁵ While it was previously thought that <8> was an Etruscan invention, an early Sabellian inscription suggests that it is just as likely to be an invention of speakers of a Sabellian language.¹⁶ Stuart-Smith dates this inscription (Um 2/Forum Novum 2) to c. 675 BC, around a century earlier than the earliest Etruscan attestation of <8>. If this is correct, then <8> was a Sabellian innovation. Crawford, following Cristofani, dates Um 2 to c. 600 BC, making the sequence of the inscriptions less clear.¹⁷ It may be unrealistic to try to pin down which language made the innovation: in the context of widespread bilingualism and general alphabetic experimentation, it is better to see this as a period of joint experimentation across linguistic boundaries.

South Oscan characters for /f/: early development

In Oscan, the /f/ phoneme is normally understood to have been an unvoiced [f] at the beginning of a word, with a voiced

¹¹ Rix 2003: 159–61; Rix 2009: 254.

¹² Triantafyllis 2007: 485–6; Crawford 2011b: 19.

¹³ The sign <8> = /f/ is also found in the Lydian alphabet of Asia Minor (sixth to fourth century BC), which was adapted from the Greek alphabet with some modifications. The connection between the use of <8> in Italy and in the Lydian alphabet is not clear. Adiego 2007: 769; Rix 2008: 144.

¹⁴ Stuart-Smith 2004: 37.

¹⁵ In one Oscan inscription in the Etruscan alphabet (Cm 27/Saticula 6, 350–300 BC) it appears to be used as a sign for aspiration, which might suggest a relationship with <H>. Cm 27 has *culcfnam*, vs. *culchna* in Cm 22 (Saticula 1), both from Greek *κυλίχνη*. Clackson 2006: 145. However, this attestation does not necessarily tell us much about the origins and value of the sign 300 years earlier.

¹⁶ Stuart-Smith 2004: 37; Cristofani 1978: 412, 419. ¹⁷ Crawford 2011b: 10.

The development of signs for /f/

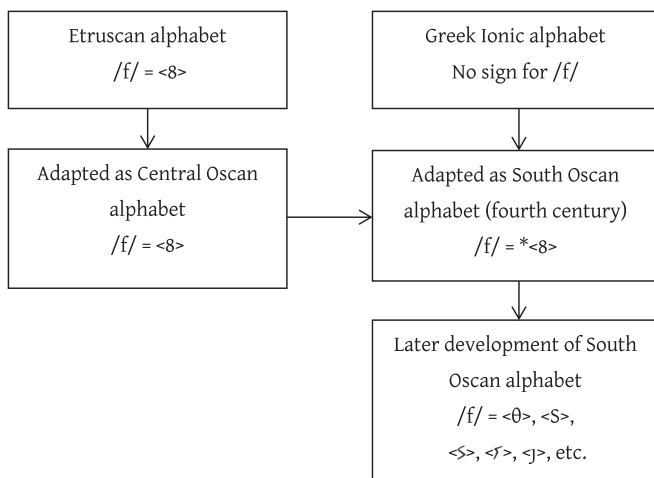


Figure 1 Schematic of Lejeune's explanation of the development of the South Oscan alphabet, including signs for /f/

allophone similar to [v] or [β] word-internally.¹⁸ The details of the South Oscan alphabet and the representation of /f/ have been explored by Lejeune, Del Tutto Palma, Antonini and Cristofani.¹⁹ The ongoing debate over the origin and development of the sign for /f/ shows that this is not an obscure issue, since it relates to the transmission and development of the South Oscan alphabet more generally, and the extent of ongoing contact with Greek. The changing forms of the sign for /f/ have also been used to help establish dates for inscriptions where there is limited archaeological context, even though changes in the form of the sign cannot always be dated securely.

One view, detailed by Lejeune (Figure 1), is that the alphabet was adapted by Oscan-speakers in Lucania who were in contact with Greek settlers during the fourth century BC.²⁰ At this early stage, *<8> = /f/, which is unattested in South Oscan,

¹⁸ Stuart-Smith 2004: 90; Zair forthcoming: chapter 3. Other fricatives, such as /s/, are also voiced word-internally.

¹⁹ Lejeune 1970; Lejeune 1972b; Lejeune 1990; Del Tutto Palma 1989; Antonini 1990; Cristofani 1998.

²⁰ Lejeune 1970: 276–7.

Alphabets, epigraphy and orthography

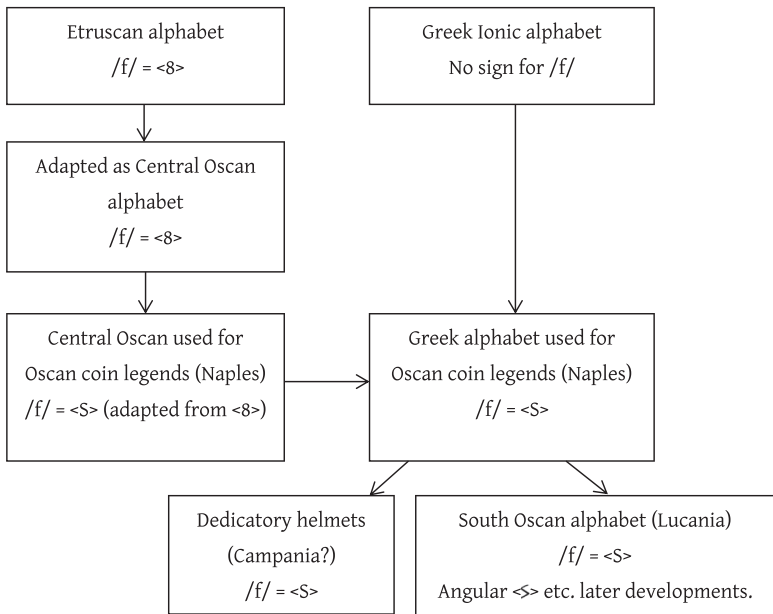


Figure 2 Schematic of Cristofani's explanation of the development of South Oscan alphabet, including signs for /f/

was taken from their knowledge of the Central Oscan alphabet. In Lejeune's explanation, Central Oscan influence on the epigraphy of South Oscan then ceased, and all attested forms of South Oscan /f/ (<θ>, <S>, <S>, etc.) were independent later developments.²¹

An alternative view put forward by Cristofani (Figure 2) is that the South Oscan alphabet, including the adaptation of <S> from <8>, was devised at Naples by Greek-speakers minting coins for Campanian Oscan-speaking communities at the very beginning of the fourth century BC.²² This argument is based on the similarity between the signs for /f/ in South Oscan inscriptions, <S> or <2>, and those used in the coin legends of silver didrachms minted at Naples for the Fenserni of Campania in the early fourth BC (Fenserni I, c. 395–390).²³ These

²¹ Lejeune 1970: 276; Stuart-Smith 2004: 89.

²² Cristofani 1998.

²³ Cristofani 1998: 276.

coins bear both Greek alphabet legends (φευσερν) and Central Oscan alphabet legends (**fensernum**), both of which have /f/ in the shape of <Ʒ>.²⁴ At the end of the fifth and the beginning of the fourth century, there was therefore close contact and interaction between the Greek script adapted for Oscan and the Central Oscan alphabet.²⁵ Crawford broadly shares this view, but with the caveat that the sign used is not <Ʒ> but a ‘die-engraver’s error for 8’.²⁶

Cristofani hypothesises that this Neapolitan adaptation of the Ionic Greek alphabet expanded around 350 BC from its use in coinage to other genres where the writer wished to represent Oscan in Greek script, e.g. in the helmet dedications Lu 18 (Luc.Bret.Sic 3) and Lu 19 (Lucania 1). Both show /f/ = <Ʒ>, i.e. facing the opposite way to the direction of the right-to-left writing. The direction of the writing suggests that the writers may have been familiar with the Central Oscan alphabet, which is also written right-to-left.²⁷ Other inscriptions from fourth-century Campania written in the Greek alphabet indicate, in Cristofani’s opinion, that this desire to use the Greek (or ‘Oscogreek’) alphabet continued for some time. He includes here Cm 16 (Surrentum 4), which he reads as $\phi\iota\upsilon\upsilon\epsilon\iota\sigma$, with a Central Oscan-style diacritic on the first <ι>.²⁸ Only later, at the end of the fourth century BC, did the South Oscan alphabet become the writing system of Lucania, later spreading to Bruttium and Messana.²⁹

Stuart-Smith adds that a number of other didrachms from around the same time as those of the Fenserni show experimentation at Greek coin mints with signs for representing intervocalic /f/. In particular, she cites the coinage of Allifae c. 400–395, in which various signs are used to represent /f/, including <OH>. If <8> was in use for the word-initial sound [f], it is possible that some writers created an alternative sign for the voiced allophone [v] which was found word-internally.³⁰

²⁴ Cristofani 1998: 276. ²⁵ Cristofani 1998: 276. ²⁶ Crawford 2011b: 17.

²⁷ Cristofani 1998: 277; Crawford 2011b: 1312, 1317.

²⁸ Crawford disputes this reading, preferring $\phi\iota\upsilon\upsilon\epsilon\iota\sigma$ – Crawford 2011b: 854.

²⁹ Cristofani 1998: 277.

³⁰ Stuart-Smith 2004: 86. Crawford, however, reads <αλιοηα>, saying: ‘the “whiskers” on either side of the O...are die-breaks...we think that the engraver was using

Word-internal variants for <8> may also be found in the coinage of Nuceria Alfaterna, 275–250 BC. Stuart-Smith notes that when <8> is used on these coins it sometimes resembles a or <8>, perhaps also representing voicing between vowels.³¹ Crawford does not accept these as ‘genuine variants’, but as failures to carve a symmetrical <8> ‘as the result of error or lack of skill on the part of the engraver’.³² It is also possible that <O> and were deliberate adaptations of <8> to make it easier to carve on very small coin dies, but representing the voiced sound is likely to have been a consideration.

Crawford’s overall approach, which is to see an essential continuity in the use of various Greek scripts to write Oscan in Campania and Lucania with multiple periods of reference to Central Oscan/Etruscan, is probably the most realistic (Figure 3).³³ It seems unlikely that there was only a single point of interaction between the alphabets of Lucania and Campania, as Lejeune argued. However, both Lejeune and Crawford hypothesise later stages where <8> is introduced into the South Oscan alphabet, although <8> is never attested in South Oscan inscriptions. Cristofani’s approach has the advantage of explaining why <8> is not attested in South Oscan, by placing the adaptation of <8> into <S> in the period of experimentation at Naples.

Both Crawford and Cristofani could be criticised for their lack of detail on the sign <θ> for /f/. One possibility is that <θ> is a later adaptation of <8>. Another possibility raised by Crawford is that the use of <θ> for /f/ pre-dates the borrowing of <8>, and that it was borrowed directly from Greek as an available sign that could easily be assigned to /f/. These possibilities need not be mutually exclusive: for example, it could be that <8> was borrowed from Central Oscan but adapted by some writers to resemble Greek <θ> more closely. This would

omicron + aspirate to represent *f*’ Crawford 2011b: 581. He explains elsewhere (2011b: 21) that: ‘omicron, used for ου = *f*, *f* thus being represented by *f* and *h*, a Greek variant of Etruscan *vh*.’ This seems unlikely – Etruscan <VH> (<FH>) was in use only at an earlier date, and had been replaced by <8> in all Etruscan alphabets by the fourth century. Even if this were an independent creation, the use of <O> as a consonant is unusual, and seems to invite considerable confusion.

³¹ Stuart-Smith 2004: 87.

³² Crawford 2011b: 903.

³³ Crawford 2011b: 17.

The development of signs for /f/

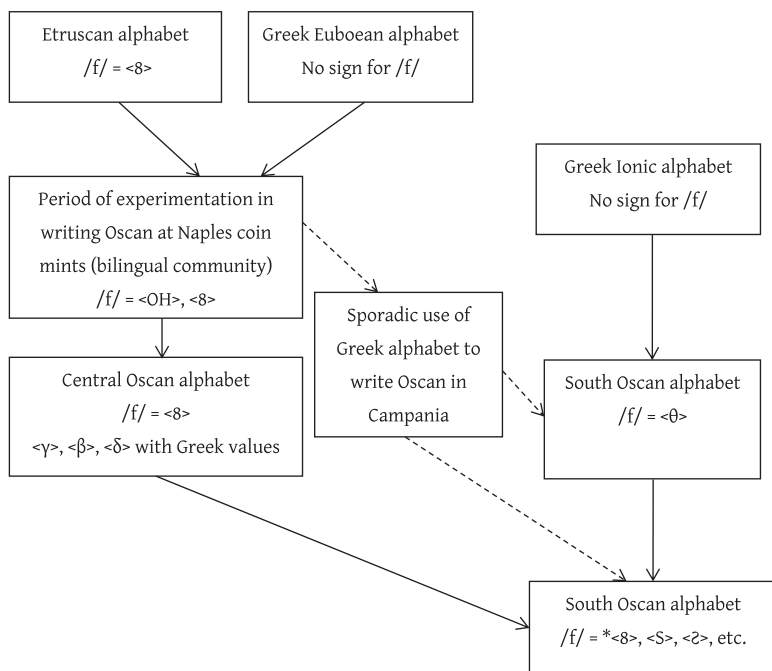


Figure 3 Schematic of Crawford's explanation of the development of the Central Oscan and South Oscan alphabets, including signs for /f/

imply multiple points of influence from Central Oscan, which is historically plausible.

Signs for /f/ in later inscriptions

Although we can hypothesise about the likely order of development in the signs for /f/, there are considerable problems with attempts to date the period of use of each letter shape. If it is possible to create a coherent chronology of the development of the signs for /f/ anywhere, it would be at Rossano di Vaglio, where we have the largest number of attestations from one site.³⁴ However, even at Rossano it is extremely difficult to establish a relative chronology, let alone an absolute one. The

³⁴ See [Appendix 1](#) for details of the site.



Figure 4 Lu 36 (Potentia 19). Author's photo, 26/04/12. Museo Archeologico Nazionale della Basilicata

inscriptions are rarely in situ, for the most part having been re-used as building material in antiquity.³⁵

The use of <θ> for /f/ occurs only at Rossano di Vaglio, and only in three inscriptions: Lu 28 (Potentia 20), Lu 30 (Potentia 24), and Lu 36 (Potentia 19; [Figure 4](#)). All three were re-used in the rebuilding of the site, and should therefore probably be dated to before around 200 BC on archaeological grounds.³⁶ All are dated 325–275 by Crawford, putting them among the earliest inscriptions at Rossano. Lu 30 has a <-fσ> ending (*-ns > *-f > *-f + s > -fs), as opposed to the later <-σσ> (-fs > -ss), which indicates an early date on linguistic grounds. However, the early date of the other two inscriptions cannot be confirmed. Lu 36 is dated on the use of the <EI> diphthong spelling. Zair has shown that there is no evidence

³⁵ Crawford [2011b](#): 53. See [Appendix 2](#) for the datings of the inscriptions.

³⁶ Crawford [2011b](#): 53–4.

that the <EI> diphthong spelling is used only in earlier inscriptions. Both <EI> and <HI> were used throughout the range of time covered by the corpus, though <HI> perhaps became more common from the third century onwards.³⁷ The use of theta is the main evidence for the early date of Lu 28, so it cannot be used to establish the chronology either. Although Lu 30 suggests that theta might have been in use at an early stage of the sanctuary, it is possible that the use of theta continued as an archaising variant throughout the use of Oscan at the site.

The lack of dating criteria is not just a problem for inscriptions with theta for /f/; it is a problem for the Rossano corpus as a whole. [Table 1](#) shows the difficulties of creating a relative chronology in the signs for /f/. Archaeological context can only date the majority of these inscriptions to before or after 200, when older inscriptions were re-used for building material.³⁸ Those which remained in situ at the site are, for the most part, assumed to be post-200. Even then, this archaeological evidence only helps us if we assume, with Crawford, that all of the rebuilding happened in a single intensive phase of building work, which happened at the same time as the rebuilding of the altar.³⁹

There has therefore been a reliance on epigraphic dating criteria for dating the inscriptions. Some inscriptions are dated primarily on the use of the spelling of diphthongs, even though the <EI> spelling continued as a variant even after <HI> was introduced around 300 BC.⁴⁰ The use of /h/ = <F> is also problematic, since <H> and <F> can co-exist within the same inscription, such as in Lu 5 (Potentia 1), where <H> is used for numerals. In any case, <F> was already available from the Greek alphabets in South Italy by c. 400 BC.⁴¹ Other epigraphic features in these inscriptions – such as the use of lunate sigma and epsilon – can help us to make overall judgements, but these

³⁷ Zair 2013: 222–3; Zair forthcoming: [chapter 2](#). ³⁸ Crawford 2011b: 53–4.

³⁹ The rebuilding of the altar is reasonably securely dated by coin finds underneath it, but these have not been published.

⁴⁰ Zair forthcoming: [chapter 2](#). ⁴¹ Crawford 2011b: 55.

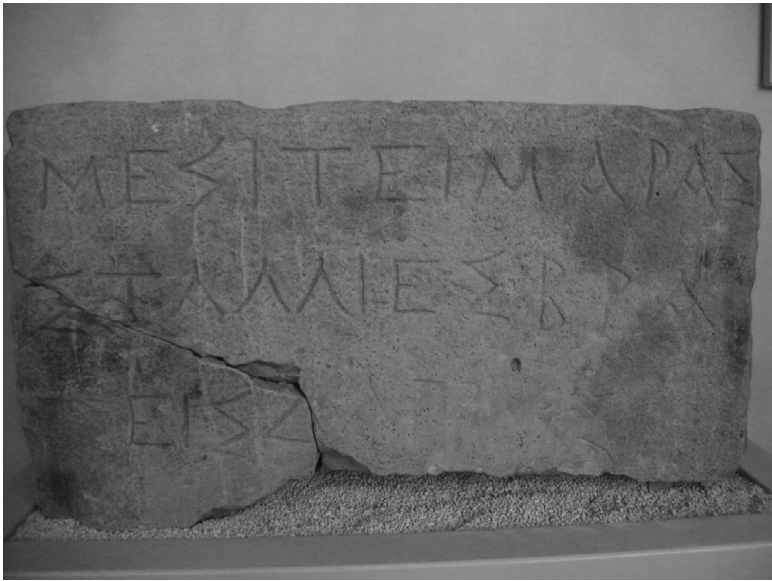


Figure 5 Lu 16 (Potentia 13). Author's photo, 26/04/12. Museo Archeologico Nazionale della Basilicata

features are not always used consistently within one inscription. Engravers working at Rossano could also employ a degree of orthographic archaism, such as the use of four-barred sigma alongside lunate sigma in Lu 6 and 7 (Potentia 9 and 10).

Dating by the letter shape used for /f/ has therefore been quite common. An approximate progression is assumed in the shape of the signs for /f/, from theta, to an angular <S> shape (Figure 5), to a curved <S> which existed alongside occasional variants such as and a curved line <J>. But there are problems with using this hypothetical development to try to establish reliable datings. It is possible that there were a number of variant signs for /f/ in common currency over a long period. It is likely that forms such as <J> and usually indicate a later date than <θ> or <S>, but the existence of an older form in an inscription should not be used in itself to give an inscription an earlier date. The form <S> seems to appear throughout several centuries (see Table 4).

Table 4 *Inscriptions from Rossano di Vaglio containing /f/*

Date: C = Crawford, L = Lejeune. Unreliable epigraphic criteria are marked with †.

Inscription	Date	Dating criteria (archaeological)	Dating criteria (epigraphic)	Form of /f/
Lu 28 (Potentia 20)	C: 325–275 L: 350–300	Re-used <i>c.</i> 200	†/f/ = <θ>	<θ>
Lu 30 (Potentia 24)	C: 325–275 L: 350–300	Re-used <i>c.</i> 200	<–fσ> ending	<θ>
Lu 36 (Potentia 19)	C: 325–275 L: 350–300	Re-used <i>c.</i> 200	†<EI> for /ei/	<θ>
Lu 16 (Potentia 13)	C: 325–275 L: 350–300	Re-used <i>c.</i> 200	†<EI> for /ei/	<S>
Lu 15 (Potentia 17)	L: 300–275 C: 300–200	Re-used <i>c.</i> 200	<HI> for /ei/	<Z>
Lu 33 (Potentia 15)	L/C: 300–200	Re-used <i>c.</i> 200	<HI> for /ei/	<S>
Lu 17 (Potentia 32)	C: 300–200	Re-used <i>c.</i> 200	–	<S>
Lu 13 (Potentia 40)	C: 250–200	Re-used in later Roman villa ^a	†/h/ = F <HI> for /ei/	<S>

(Cont.)

Table 4 (*Cont.*)

Inscription	Date	Dating criteria (archaeological)	Dating criteria (epigraphic)	Form of /f/
Lu 29 (Potentia 21)	L: 325–300 C: 250–200	Re-used <i>c.</i> 200	†/h/ = F †Form of <μ> †Small o	<S>
Lu 6 and 7 (Potentia 9, 10)	L/C: 200–175	Remained in situ	<HI> for /ɛi/	<S>
Lu 32 (Potentia 16)	L: 125–100 C: Either side of 200	No known context	<HI> for /ɛi/	<J>
Lu 31 (Potentia 22)	L: 125–100 C: Either side of 200	No known context	<HI> for /ɛi/	<S>
Lu 12 (Potentia 2)	L/C: 200–100	Post-200 context	–	<S>
Lu 5 (Potentia 1)	L/C: 125–100	Remained in situ	<HI> for /ɛi/ †/f/ = Voiced /s/ = <Z>	<S>
Lu 34 (Potentia 14)	L/C: 125–100	Re-used for later repair of wall ^b	†/f/ = 	

^a Crawford 2011b: 1425.^b Crawford 2011b: 54.

At Rossano, we are able to identify overall tendencies in the development of the signs for /f/, but not necessarily the dates at which certain forms were adopted or fell out of use. Given the difficulties of establishing a clear chronology at Rossano di Vaglio, any chronology of the signs for /f/ in other areas must be tentative. The attestations from other sites are shown in [Table 5](#). These texts suggest that there were a number of variants that co-existed *c.* 300 BC. The bronze helmets Lu 18 and Lu 19 may be part of a different tradition that adapted the <8> independently, as stated earlier. This would account for their use of a sign not found elsewhere (curvy <S> that is ‘backwards’ in respect the right-to-left direction of writing).

The use of for /f/ merits some special attention. This occurs for certain in three inscriptions, Lu 5 (Potentia 1), Lu 34 (Potentia 14) and Lu 26 (Luc.Bret.Sic 1). In Lu 34 and Lu 26, this is the main dating criterion used by Crawford.⁴² He assigns these inscriptions to a late date on the basis that would only have been used for word-internal /f/ once Greek beta had become a voiced fricative, which he believes to have happened perhaps *c.* 150 BC.⁴³ The use of this orthography as a dating criterion is difficult, since there is little clear evidence for when voiced stops became fricatives in Greek.⁴⁴ While there is some evidence that the change of /g/ to a fricative in Greek may have begun this early, it is generally agreed that [b] > [β] was a widespread change only in the first century AD.⁴⁵ There is no positive evidence that the dialects found in Southern Italy and Sicily were already undergoing this change during the latest stages of South Oscan writing.

In addition, could have been used for /f/ at any time, since in Oscan /f/ was voiced as [v] or [β] word-internally. If a writer was trying to make a distinction between voiced and unvoiced /f/, then was a sensible choice for the voiced

⁴² Crawford 2011b: 1309, 1386. ⁴³ Crawford 2011b: 55.

⁴⁴ It was once thought that /b/ had become a fricative in Greek during Classical times. There is some circumstantial evidence that indicates that this sound change was beginning in the fifth century in Laconia and the Argolid and the fourth century in Crete, though it is very difficult to confirm this. Jannaris 1897: 61; Gignac 1975: 68 n. 1.

⁴⁵ Buck 1955: 58; Teodorsson 1974: 221; Gignac 1975: 63; Horrocks 2010: 170.

Table 5 *Inscriptions from sites other than Rossano containing /f/*

Unreliable epigraphic criteria are marked with †.

Inscription	Date	Dating criteria	Form of /f/
Lu 18 (Luc.Bret.Sic 3)	c. 375–350	Helmet style	/f/ = <Z>
Lu 19 (Lucania 1)	c. 350	Helmet style	/f/ = <Z>
Lu 46 (Laos 2)	c. 330–320	Arch. context	/f/ = ?
Lu 14 (Paestum 1)	c. 300	Arch. context	/f/ = <S>
Lu 63 (Laos 3) ^a	c. 300	Arch. context	/f/ = <S>
Lu 3 (Cosilinum 1)	c. 300	†Shape of /f/	/f/ = <S>
Metapontum 2	c. 300	Arch. context	/f/ = <S>
Lu 62 (Buxentum 1)	c. 300–200	Arch. context	/f/ = <S>
Lu 43 (Teuranus Ager 1)	Before c. 200	Use of Oscan?	/f/ = <ʃ>
Lu 26 (Luc.Bret.Sic 1)	After c. 200	†Use of <ʃ> †/f/ = 	/f/ =

^a The letter f does not appear in Crawford's reading of Lu 63. In line 4, he reads: γν[αϜ]ισ αδισ, contra Poccetti: γναι φαδισ. His objection that there is a large lacuna after the <γν> is fair, but he also states that 'the supposed third hasta of the S = f is illusory; nor is any other praenomen here so abbreviated' (2011b: 1349). My autopsy (April 2012) suggests that the third hasta exists and was deliberate. Further, if this were a lunate sigma, it would be much more angular than all other examples on the tablet. It therefore seems likely that this sign represents /f/, following Poccetti. This reading does not make much difference to our chronology here, since Lu 62 and Paestum 1 both show examples of the same letter shape from around the same time. The problem of the unusual abbreviation of the praenomen remains unresolved.

allophone since, like [v], it is voiced and labial. This explanation works reasonably well for the inscription Lu 5 (Potentia 1), where we find used word-internally in σααλανο but <S> in the compound αφατεδ, where the main verb begins with an unvoiced /f/.⁴⁶ The possible use of for /f/ in the coinage of Nuceria Alfaterna (275–250 BC) mentioned above might also suggest that went back into the third century as a variant form for voiced /f/.⁴⁷ It is possible, though not certain, that for word-internal /f/ also appears in Lu 46 (Laos 2) in the late fourth century, where the name σαβιδιον occurs twice, which would push back the date of this variant even further.⁴⁸ If the intervocalic voicing of fricatives had always existed in Oscan, there is no reason to see the use of for /f/ as necessarily a post-150 BC spelling.⁴⁹ Although it may appear mainly in later inscriptions, the use of for /f/ is therefore not necessarily reliable as a dating criterion until we find more inscriptions with this feature that are datable by other means.⁵⁰

The use of the letter <φ>, which I have not included in the tables above, has also been interpreted in a number of different

⁴⁶ The inscription is probably not consistent in differentiating the two: for example, πρωατεδ is also written with <S>, but this cannot be explained as a compound in the same way, because the verb is derived from the adjective *prof-wos, cf. Latin *probus*. We do not know the etymology of πωμφοκ.

⁴⁷ Colonna also understands the inscribed cuirass of Novius Bannios (*SEG* 29.1026, c. 330 BC) as belonging to ‘Novius Fannius’, on the basis that the name Bannius is not attested in Latin, while the name Fannius is common, though only from the second century onwards. This cannot be ruled out, but it would be exceptional, since we do not have any other examples of unvoiced initial /f/ being written as . See Colonna 1984.

⁴⁸ Personal communication, E. Dupraz. It is not clear whether /b/ or /f/ is intended. The name *sabinis* occurs elsewhere in Oscan, e.g. Po 63 (Pompei 67) in the second century; personal names in *saf-* are not attested in Oscan.

⁴⁹ In Lu 26, is found alongside features usually considered to occur in earlier inscriptions: four-bar sigma and the <EI> diphthong. Either the inscription contains archaising features, or it is not as late as the suggests. It is possible that for /f/ is also found in Um 41 (Capena 1), *uobūri* (650–625 BC), though the interpretation of this inscription is unclear. Suggested by James Clackson, personal communication.

⁵⁰ An alternative theory, suggested by Lejeune, is that the spelling for /f/ does not have any phonetic basis; rather, it shows a graphic assimilation of the characters <8> and in an attempt to ‘déosquiser’ the look of the inscription. Lejeune 1966: 181. This does not necessarily account for the use of both <S> and in Lu 5. A further alternative suggestion is that the is due to influence from a Latin word such as *stabulor*. Fortson and Weiss 2013.

ways. It has been suggested that South Oscan occasionally uses <φ> for /f/, for example, in Lu 45 (Buxentum 3) and Lu 46 (Laos 2).⁵¹ This claim has not been explored in detail previously, but is problematic.

In Greek-language inscriptions, the letter which represents Latin /f/ is usually <φ>. For example, on Delos there are several examples: Ferus as Greek φερων, Ofellius as Greek οφελλιον (both c. 100 BC), and Aufidius as Greek αυφιδιοσ (end of the second century BC).⁵² Greek writers sometimes also transliterate a Latin /p/ with <φ>, such as in the name Sulpicius (as Σολφικιος), possibly because of some difference in quality that led Greek-speakers to hear the Latin stop as aspirated.⁵³ There is some evidence of a similar phenomenon when Greek borrowed words containing /f/ from Oscan. The coinage of Fistelia was produced with both Greek-language and Oscan-language (Central Oscan alphabet) legends, as well as some bilingual coins.⁵⁴ The Oscan legends use either <θ> or <θ> for /f/. The Greek legends use <φ> for Oscan /f/. The Greek phi represented a voiceless aspirated stop at this period, not a fricative, and the Greek use of <φ> (/p^h/) for Italic /f/ is only an approximation.⁵⁵ However, we can see in borrowings from Greek into Oscan that Oscan <θ> was not used to transliterate Greek <φ>. In Central Oscan, Greek <φ> is transliterated either with <P> (e.g. νύμφη ~ **diumpaís**, Sa 1/Teruentum 34) or with <PH> (Αφίνιος ~ **aphinis**, Po 40/Pompei 34), though the

⁵¹ Crawford 2011b: 55. ⁵² Stuart-Smith 2004: 136.

⁵³ Threatte 1980: 468. ⁵⁴ Phistelia 1 Coinage.

⁵⁵ Stuart-Smith 2004: 136. In later Greek, the letter phi represents a fricative [φ] or [f]. It has been suggested that the change of the Greek aspirated stop [p^h] to a fricative could date to as early as 300 BC, though the first undisputed evidence of this change is from Roman Imperial times. The first clear indication of the [p^h] > [f] change is in Attica and Asia Minor during the second century AD; there is apparently no evidence of such a change in the Egyptian papyri throughout the Roman Empire and into the Byzantine period. The first transcription of Greek phi with Latin <F> (*Dafne*), indicating that Greek [p^h] had become a fricative in some forms of Greek used in Italy, is in the latter stages of the history of Pompeii (first century AD). It is not out of the question that Greek phi represented a fricative during the period when South Oscan was being written, but there is no positive evidence of this change having taken place for any speakers before the turn of the millennium. Threatte 1980: 469; Gignac 1975: 98; Horrocks 2010: 170–1.

digraph is used only from the second half of the second century BC.⁵⁶

With this background in mind, we can look in more detail at the apparent examples of <φ> being used for /f/ in South Oscan. In Lu 46 (Laos 2), Poccetti reads theta, rather than the phi of the original publication by Pugliese Carratelli.⁵⁷ However, the name βοθρονι(-), or possibly βοθονι(-), has not been adequately explained. It is not clear whether this name is a Greek name incorporated into the Oscan naming system, or a Greek individual name; in either case, it does not correspond to any known Greek name. It could be derived from Greek βόθρος ‘ditch’; or it could be a compound name, with a first element *bou-*.⁵⁸ Poccetti makes some further suggestions, including the possibility that it may relate to the Latin cognomen Botrus/Botrys (and the Latin gentilicium Butronius), from Greek βότρυς, ‘(bunch of) grape(s)’. The spelling could be explained by a folk-etymological connection to Greek βόθρος.⁵⁹ Crawford returns to the reading with phi, but this does not produce any clearer parallels in Oscan, Latin or Greek, though perhaps the intention is to link the name to Latin *bufo*, ‘toad’. While the origin of this name remains very uncertain, Poccetti has provided the most plausible comparanda, using the reading with theta. This is not by any means a clear case of <φ> = /f/.

In the case of Lu 45 (Buxentum 3), phi is used in the name φοινι(κισ), and therefore represents [p^h] or [p]. If the use of phi here reflects a change of Greek [p^h] > [φ], it would be an extremely early attestation of this sound change. It is much more likely that the writer is trying to reflect a Greek aspirated stop as closely as possible. Probably he was aware of the Greek spelling of the name, and so borrowed the Greek character, either to represent the pronunciation of the name accurately

⁵⁶ Stuart-Smith 2004: 136; Sironen 1987: 114. It was around the second half of the second century BC that Latin started to represent Greek <φ> as <PH> rather than <P>. It is possible that this Latin spelling influenced the spelling in Central Oscan, or that both Latin- and Oscan-speakers were becoming more aware of Greek orthography at this point.

⁵⁷ Pugliese Carratelli 1992; Poccetti *et al.* 1993: 168.

⁵⁸ McDonald 2012a: 50. Also see Chapter 5. ⁵⁹ Poccetti *et al.* 1993: 168–9.

or to maintain a visual link with the Greek orthography. The use of other aspects of Greek orthography in this inscription, such as accusatives in $-v$, supports this explanation.

There is one further possible use of $\langle \varphi \rangle = /f/$ not mentioned by Crawford in his introduction. In Petelia 2, Crawford ‘translates’ the names νοφιο αλαφιω and μιναδο σκαφιριω as Novia Alfia and Minata Scafria.⁶⁰ It is possible that the phi represents $/f/$ here, but this is not straightforward. ‘Alfius’ is an attested Latin gentilicium, and so the translation is possible, or we could assume an etymological connection to Latin *albus* ‘white’. ‘Scafirus’ lacks good comparanda in Latin, though Scaberius is attested, suggesting that this name would be built on the Oscan cognate of the Latin adjective *scaber*, ‘rough’. If this character represents $/f/$, the writer may have avoided the usual letter because the $/f/$ sound is voiced here to $/v/$ between vowels and the usual letter was felt to be inappropriate. But the names could also be matched with Latin gentilicia if phi is assumed to represent $/p/$. ‘Alpius’ is attested in Latin. Scarpus and Scarpus are also attested gentilicia,⁶¹ both of which could be a close equivalent to Scapirius, with metathesis of the $/r/$ and anaptyxis. Again, this suggests that $\langle \varphi \rangle$ might have been used for $[p]$ or $[p^h]$, rather than $/f/$, though both are possibilities. In either case, the use of phi may be motivated by a desire to make the text more Greek in appearance.

‘Extra’ characters in South Oscan

This section will deal with ‘extra’ characters, that is, letters used in the South Oscan alphabet that were not required to represent the sounds of Oscan.⁶² This includes signs that represent more than one phoneme, such as $\langle \psi \rangle = /ps/$, and signs that represent Greek phonemes not shared by Oscan, such as $\langle \chi \rangle = /k^h/$. The use of these characters varies across genres, showing that they were not considered by some writers of Oscan to be fully part of the alphabet in the way that, say, the signs $\langle \alpha \rangle$

⁶⁰ Crawford 2011b: 1476. ⁶¹ Solin and Salomies 1994.

⁶² A version of the discussion in this section also appears in a forthcoming article. See McDonald forthcoming.

or <κ> were. The use or non-use of extra characters can show a desire to forge or maintain connections to Greek texts and Greek identities, particularly in names. Certain orthographic practices seem to be used by some writers of Oscan to increase the 'Greek' appearance of a text. The use of extra characters also shows that some communities – notably Messana – may have formed different epigraphic norms.

Psi, xi and zeta

Psi and xi each represent two phonemes, /ps/ and /ks/, and are not necessary to the representation of Oscan. Zeta is probably used to represent /z/, a phoneme arising from several different sources, for which other spellings were available. These characters are normally considered to be part of the South Oscan alphabet, and not ad hoc graphic switches into Greek. While I also do not consider them to constitute switches, they are used in ways that suggest that they may have been thought of as distinct from the normal alphabet.

We can see from [Table 6](#) that the Greek letter psi is the most common way to spell the cluster /ps/ in South Oscan. However, it is not used absolutely consistently. All our examples of psi are found in names, whether personal names or divine names. The few examples of <πσ> are found in other kinds of words, apart from at Messana (see below), and we do not have any non-onomastic words that use psi. The use of <πσ> in some inscriptions might arise from familiarity with the Central Oscan alphabet, which contained no letter psi. It is much less likely that the use of <πσ> comes from contact with another variety of Greek, since this spelling is relatively rare. While it is possible that the split in usage is between names (which use psi) and other words (which use <πσ>), rather than between inscriptions which do or do not use psi, this cannot be confirmed because we have no inscriptions that use both psi and <πσ>.

[Table 7](#) shows that the use of xi follows a similar pattern to psi, although it is rarer. Like psi, xi is more common than the written-out form <κσ>, but it may have been attractive to use

Table 6 *Use of <ψ> and <πσ>*
 Uncertain datings are marked with † in the tables
 in the rest of this chapter.

Inscription	Genre	Date	Items
Lu 37 (Metapontum 1)	Dedication	400–375	καμπσανασ ^a (unknown)
Laos 1	Coinage	350–300	στα οψι (male name)
Lu 47 (Thurii Copia 1)	Curse	350–300	νομισ (male name)
Lu 46 (Laos 2)	Curse	330–320	νοψιν (male name) νοψιν (male name) οψιον (male name) νοψιν (male name) οψιον (male name) νοψα (female name)
Lu 28 (Potentia 20)	Dedication	325–275†	νυμφδοι (god name?) νυμφδοι (god name?)
Laos 4	Curse	c. 300	νυμφιοσ (male name)
Lu 20 (Potentia 26)	Dedication	300–200†	[-]νπιψηδ[-]
Lu 61 (Heraclea 2)	Graffito	Before 275	νοψ (male name)
Lu 29 (Potentia 21)	Dedication	250–200†	[νυ]μψδοι (god name?)
Lu 43 (Teuranus Ager 1)	Curse	Before 200	νυμφιμ (male name) ^b
Lu 5 (Potentia 1)	Dedication (official)	125–100†	(ω)πσανω (‘building’ – gerundive)

^a Uncertain reading: may be καμψανασ. Crawford 2011b: 1451.

^b This is incorrectly written <πσ> in *ST*.

xi in names rather than in other kinds of words. The written-out version of xi in Greek would normally be <χσ>, which is never found in Oscan. As above, it seems that the division may be between names, which use xi, and non-names, which use <κσ>, though no inscription uses both spellings.

Table 8 shows the use of zeta. It is used for /s/ voiced between vowels as [z], for the outcome of initial /di-/, primarily found in

‘Extra’ characters in South Oscan

Table 7 *Use of <ξ> and <κσ>*

Inscription	Genre	Date	Items
Lu 45 (Buxentum 3)	Curse	400–300	μαμερεξ (male name)
Petelia 2	Curse	c. 300	αραξ (male name)
Lu 3 (Cosilinum 1)	Dedication (official)	c. 300†	εκσ (‘thus’) ^a
Lu 29 (Potentia 21)	Dedication	250–200†	-υξ (male name?)

^a Cf. *ex* (Lu 1/Bantia 1), **ekss** (Cm 1/Abella 1). Rix also reads λεκσε in this inscription; Crawford reads λεκ(?) σε[νατεισ].

Table 8 *Use of <ζ>*

Inscription	Genre	Date	Items
Caulonia 2	Dedication	325–300	φεζεισ (‘of Venus’)
Lu 31 (Potentia 22)	Dedication	c. 200	φενζηι (‘to Venus’, * <i>ven(e)zei</i>)
Lu 11 (Potentia 5)	Dedication (official)	200–100	εισειδομ (‘the same man’)
Lu 35 (Potentia 11)	Dedication	200–100	ζωφηι (‘to Jove’) ^a , πιζηι (‘pious?’ < * <i>pid(e)zei</i>)
Lu 5 (Potentia 1)	Dedication (official)	125–100†	αιζνιω (‘bronze’), ειζιδομ (‘the same man’)

^a Cf. Spellings with <δι-> (Lu 6, Lu 7, Lu 27, Lu 25, Lu 13) and <ι-> (Lu 14). Both **di-** and **i-** are found in the Central Oscan alphabet. The spelling **z-** is found in the Latin alphabet at Bantia (Lu 38).

the divine name ‘Jove’, and for voiced fricatives from other origins, as in Lu 35 (Potentia 11) and Lu 31 (Potentia 22).⁶³ Lejeune considers zeta to have been added to the alphabet at a later stage than the original transmission.⁶⁴ He believes the original

⁶³ Lejeune 1990: 34.

⁶⁴ Lejeune 1990: 34.

use of zeta in Oscan to be for the outcome of initial /di-/, with its use for intervocalic [z] < /-s-/ arising later, though the dating of the inscriptions does not confirm this.⁶⁵

We find one spelling with zeta for ‘Jove’ at Rossano di Vaglio, but also several with <δ₁>. The use of initial <Z> is also found in later inscriptions from Bantia, written in the Latin alphabet. It is not certain what sound is being represented, though it is probably [z]. Greek zeta had started to represent this sound rather than the cluster [zd] from the mid-fourth century BC.⁶⁶ There is a small chance that the writer was making a visual link with the name ‘Zeus’ in Greek, though it is more likely that the letter that had been adopted to represent a new phoneme in the Oscan language was similar to the sound represented by zeta in Greek.

For /s/ voiced between vowels into [z], both zeta and sigma are used. For example, both are used in ‘the same man’, which was probably pronounced something like [eʒɛdom] at Rossano di Vaglio (Lu 5, Lu 11). Since Central Oscan lacks a <Z> character, the spelling with sigma more closely reflects the Central Oscan orthography. Writing <S> for both voiced and unvoiced variants is not cross-linguistically unusual where the difference is not contrastive. We see this use of <S> in German, where [z] is the allophone used in syllable onsets, with [s] elsewhere, e.g. Sohn [zo:n] vs. Bus [bus].⁶⁷ It is therefore likely that this is not a dialectal difference, showing the voicing of medial /s/ in Rossano only, but that it was only in Rossano that the use of zeta was extended to write the [z] allophone of /s/.

Theta, phi, chi and double gamma

Theta, phi, chi, and the double gamma spelling for /ɲg/ are infrequent in South Oscan orthography. Unlike what we have seen so far, these letters often seem to be the result of deliberate graphic borrowing by the writer, intended to make the word or text appear more ‘Greek’.

⁶⁵ Lejeune 1990: 34; Stuart-Smith 2004: 91.

⁶⁶ Threatte 1980: 547.

⁶⁷ The letter <Z> is not available for [z] in German because it is used for [ts].

Table 9 *Use of <θ>*

Inscription	Genre	Date	Items
Laos 1	Coinage	350–300	Greek text: εϑθυμο(ς/υ) (male name)
Lu 46 (Laos 2)	Curse	330–320	βοθροϋ(ον) (male name)
Petelia 2	Curse	c. 300	χθωνιε (Greek text: ‘of the underworld’) καθεκε (Greek text: ‘place (them)’)

Theta has a number of different uses in this corpus, shown in Table 9. As already discussed above, it is used to represent /f/ in some of the inscriptions at the Rossano di Vaglio sanctuary (Lu 28, 30, 36).⁶⁸ In these cases, it is not clear whether it has been adapted directly from the Greek alphabet or whether it is in part an adaptation of Central Oscan <8>. Theta is also used in the Greek portions of bilingual Greek/Oscan texts, such as the Petelia 2 curse tablet and the coinage of Laos. In these cases, theta has been used as part of a Greek word or name. The use of theta in Lu 46 (Laos 2) is more problematic. As discussed above, the name βοθροϋ(-), or possibly βοθονι(-), has not been adequately explained. If this name is Greek-influenced, or borrowed from Greek and incorporated into the Oscan naming system as a gentilicium, this may explain the use of theta. It may represent an effort to maintain a spelling or pronunciation found in the corresponding Greek name, as in φοινι[-] in Lu 45; alternatively, it may be an attempt to make an Oscan name look Greek.

The letter phi is used on two occasions in Oscan-language texts, though always in names (Table 10). Both of these instances have already been mentioned above. The name φοινι[-] appears in Lu 45 (Buxentum 3). *Phoinix* is a Greek name from the fifth century onwards (ultimately derived from ‘Phoenician’). In this case, however, it has been incorporated into an

⁶⁸ Lejeune 1990: 28.

Table 10 *Use of <φ>*

Inscription	Genre	Date	Items
Lu 45 (Buxentum 3)	Curse	400–300	φοινι[-] (male name)
Petelia 2	Curse	c. 300	αλαφιω (female name) σκαφιριω (female name)

Oscan-style name as a gentilicium, and may well have been considered to be an Oscan name. Since Oscan lacks a phonemic distinction between aspirated and non-aspirated consonants, this name would probably be pronounced as [poinikis] or similar.⁶⁹ The use of the phi suggests a desire to make a visual connection to the Greek name, or even attempt to retain the aspirated pronunciation.⁷⁰ The use of phi in Petelia 2 is more ambiguous. There are no other names in this inscription that feature either /f/ or medial /p/, so it is difficult to confirm what sound the writer intended to represent. A further possibility is that the use of phi has little to do with the pronunciation of the names, and more to do with the look of the text, since the writer could have been motivated by a desire to make his curse tablet appear more Greek.

Chi is used in Greek words in this corpus, but also occasionally in words and names of Oscan origin (Table 11). Lejeune characterises this as ‘occasional use’ of chi in loanwords from Greek, but in fact the usage is slightly more complicated than he implies.⁷¹ Chi was not always used where a Greek word was borrowed which contained /k^h/. For example, κηρομοι may be a borrowing from Greek, with the aspirate represented by <κh>, though the word division and interpretation of Lu 29 (Potentia 21) is controversial.⁷²

Chi is also used in names that begin in *mak-* in Lu 45 (Buxentum 3) and possibly also Lu 39 (Anxia 1). The names seem

⁶⁹ There is a possible example of this name in the Central Oscan alphabet, spelt with an initial <P>, but the reading is in doubt. Crawford 2011b: 460 reads **pumik(tis)**.

⁷⁰ Poccetti and Gualtieri 1990: 150. ⁷¹ Lejeune 1970: 315.

⁷² Del Tutto Palma 1987: 369. See Chapter 5, below, for more detail on this inscription.

Table 11 *Use of <χ> and <kh>*

Inscription	Genre	Date	Items
Lu 45 (Buxentum 3)	Curse	400–300	μαχιεσ (male name)
Potentia 39	Official	400–300	αρχησ (Greek text: 'magistracy')
Petelia 2	Curse	c. 300	χθωνιε (Greek text: 'of the underworld')
Lu 39 (Anxia 1)	Dedication/ Funerary?	300–250	αχερηι (Unclear. Male name [μ]αχερηι, or loanword from Greek Ἀχέρων, 'underworld')
Lu 29 (Potentia 21)	Dedication	250–200	κιομοι (Unclear. Perhaps from Greek χῶμα, 'mound')
Volcei 1	Coinage	216–209	φελεχα- (Greek text: abbreviated ethnic name)

to be Oscan in origin – the name **makkiis** is attested a number of times in Central Oscan.⁷³ The use of chi here seems to be an attempt to create a link with Greek names in *makh-*, particularly those containing the element *–makhos*.⁷⁴ We find a similar phenomenon in the Greek spelling of the Italian town Acer-*rae* as Ἀχέρραι: this is a folk-etymological spelling based on the similarity to the mythical river Ἀχέρων.⁷⁵ The use of chi in the abbreviated form of the ethnic name *Volceientes* on the coinage of Volcei may reflect the pronunciation of the name of the city in Greek. As we have already seen, there may have been some non-phonemic aspiration of Oscan /k/ in some environments, which led to it being written with an aspirate by Greek-speakers using the Greek script.

⁷³ Pompei 98, Fagifulae 9, Aeclanum 16, tPo 27/37 (Pompei 122).

⁷⁴ Alternatively, the use of chi in *makh-* names is another instance of the Oscan stops sounding aspirated to Greek-speakers, though μαχιεσ (Lu 45) does not show the proximity to a liquid which is commonly seen where an Italic unaspirated stop is spelled as an aspirate in Greek.

⁷⁵ Poccetti 2009b: 38.

Table 12 *Use of <γγ> and <vγ> for /ŋg/*

Inscription	Genre	Date	Items
Lu 24 (Crimisa 2)	Official	300–200	καvγ- (unknown)
Lu 62 (Buxentum 1)	Legal	300–200	τ{αν}αγγινουδ ('by decision' – ABL.SING.)
Lu 6 (Potentia 9)	Dedication (official)	200–175	τανγινουδ ('by decision')
Lu 7 (Potentia 10)	Dedication (official)	200–175	τανγινουδ ('by decision')
Lu 2 (Atina Lucana 1)	Official	c. 150	τανγινουδ ('by decision')
Lu 5 (Potentia 1)	Dedication (official)	125–100†	τανγινουτ ('by decision')

The use of <vγ> and <γγ> to write the sound /ŋg/ is shown in Table 12. In Central Oscan, as in Latin, this sequence would be written <NG>. In Greek, the 'standard' spelling was <γγ>, though <vγ> was also used as a variant.⁷⁶ South Oscan follows the same practice as Central Oscan by using <vγ>. This sequence is attested mainly in the word τανγινουδ, 'decision', which typically appears in official inscriptions referring to a decision of the senate. In one instance the writer of the inscription Lu 62 (Buxentum 1) seems to begin to write <vγ>, but then corrects to the more typically 'Greek' spelling <γγ>.⁷⁷ He may have been aware of two available spellings and ended up using both by forgetting that he had already begun the first <vγ>.

Messana – a different tradition?

The use of the 'extra' characters is very slightly different in the Oscan inscriptions of Messana, indicating that these inscriptions may represent a separate strand in the tradition of Oscan

⁷⁶ Threatch 1980: 597–601.

⁷⁷ Poccetti and Gualtieri 2001: 233; Zair 2013: 223.

Table 13 *Extra characters and alternative spellings at Messana*

Inscription	Genre	Date	Items
Me 1 (Messana 4)	Dedication (official)	c. 250	ΟΥΠΣΕΙΝΣ (‘built’ – 3rd PL.PERF.)
Me 1 (Messana 4)	Dedication (official)	c. 250	ΜΕΔΔΕΙΞ (‘magistrate’ – NOM.PL.) ^a
Me 4 (Messana 6)	Dedication	c. 275	ΜΑΜΕΡΕΚΣ (male name)

^a Cf. *medix* (Pg 1/Corfinium 1) and **medd[i]ks** (Cm 2/Surrentum 1). Also **meddißs** (Cm 6/Nola 3).

epigraphy (Table 13). Messana gives us the only non-name word where xi appears, ΜΕΔΔΕΙΞ. There are various spellings for this nominative plural found in the Central Oscan alphabet, where we find both <ks> and <ss>, because of a sound change which leads to the assimilation of /ks/ to /ss/. Our only example of a name spelled with <κσ> rather than <ξ> is also from Messana. This appears to be a reversal of the pattern we find elsewhere in South Oscan, though the evidence is very limited. The use of <πσ> in Messana has a comparandum in Lu 5 from Rossano di Vaglio, so it is not certain that the usage in Messana differs from that elsewhere. It is possible that in both areas these spellings were actually in free variation or that these inscriptions from Messana happen to be exceptions to a general rule.

Historically, the idea of a separate tradition is plausible, since the Mamertines who occupied Messana were Oscan-speaking mercenaries hired in Campania (see Chapter 1). This would suggest that they were familiar with the Central Oscan alphabet, but that they came to use the Greek alphabet in Sicily. The Oscan-speakers of Messana also experienced a relatively quick shift to Greek.⁷⁸ The monumental inscriptions in Oscan at Messana are dated to c. 275–250 and, given that the historical date for the takeover of the Mamertines is 288 BC, it is possible that there was only one generation that produced

⁷⁸ Clackson 2012b: 141.

Oscan inscriptions. The influence of a Greek-style naming formula may also be seen on Me 5 (Messana 7).

While the evidence is extremely limited, therefore, it is possible that there were differences between the orthography of Messana and the orthography of the rest of South Oscan. The clearest difference is in the use of <κσ> and <ξ>, but even this may be due to chance. If there was a divergent orthographic tradition in Messana, influenced by the Central Oscan writing of Campania or the Greek written in Sicily, we would need considerably more instances of these spellings being used consistently to prove it.

Conclusions

In this chapter, I have explored several aspects of the epigraphy of the whole South Oscan corpus. Several recurring themes have come out of this chapter that are relevant to the rest of the book. First, it should be emphasised that there was ongoing contact and interaction between Greek- and Oscan-speakers in Southern Italy. For the transmission of the alphabet, for example, we should not be looking for a single, defined moment of transmission from either the Central Oscan area or Magna Graecia. Rather, it is more realistic to see the development of the South Oscan alphabet, and indeed all the alphabets of Italy, as the result of ongoing experimentation in a multilingual environment. Most new alphabets were developed with more than one existing alphabet available as a model. These were not isolated communities, and there were multiple influences on writers of Oscan at all periods.

Second, we have begun to see epigraphic differences between different genres of text. Curse tablets, for example, show quite a high proportion of the use of extra characters. It is understandable if Oscan-speakers felt that the ‘Greekness’ of curse tablets was part of what made the magic work, in the same way that the Greeks themselves obfuscated curse texts to put them at one step removed from everyday language (see [Chapter 5](#)). Official and legal texts, particularly dedications, do not show a great deal of graphic borrowing from Greek, but they show

Conclusions

some. Greek features were not something to be avoided in formal writing, but could be admitted into expensive, officially backed texts.

Third, we have begun to see the interaction between orthographic and epigraphic norms and the personal choice of the individual writer. There were many ways in which South Oscan developed norms. These norms developed in reference to the habits of other literate societies with which they were in contact, but ultimately were specific to each community. On the other hand, these norms were not set in stone: individuals had an element of choice in how they wrote their text, depending on what they wanted to convey. In our corpus, which is spread considerably across time and space, we must always be aware that different writers may be under different influences, may have different intentions, or may simply have different preferences. However, it seems from the data presented in this chapter that we can explain these individual choices within a broad framework of the epigraphic habit of the South Oscan area.

DEDICATORY INSCRIPTIONS

This chapter discusses the language and epigraphy of inscriptions commemorating dedications to deities. Since the excavation of the cult site at Rossano di Vaglio, dedicatory inscriptions have made up over a third of the South Oscan corpus, making them the best-represented text type in the corpus. This chapter evaluates the level of Greek influence on South Oscan dedicatory inscriptions by looking at patterns across the genre and by analysing in detail some of the more problematic inscriptions.

Across the ancient world, languages were retained in the religious domain even as their use decreased in other domains. Adams gives examples of this kind of language preservation for speakers of Celtic and Latin in Gaul,¹ Latin, Greek and Punic in Sardinia,² and Palmyrene and Latin at Rome.³ These inscriptions are bi- or tri-version, giving versions of the text in both the traditional language of the community and the lingua franca of Latin or Greek. This motivation may also lie behind the writing of the Iguvine Tables in Umbrian, even after the Umbrian script was obsolete and the language was in decline. Given these examples, we might expect all Oscan-speaking communities except those experiencing the most extreme external pressure to retain Oscan for their religious inscriptions. In general, this expectation is borne out.

But language choice is just one aspect of how contact can be reflected in inscriptions. The borrowing of religious language, divine names and religious practices can also reflect a contact situation, though one in which the community maintained a reasonable level of ethnolinguistic vitality. Italian communities accepted new deities from the Greek world from the time

¹ Adams 2003: 190.

² Adams 2003: 210.

³ Adams 2003: 249.

of the earliest written documents. In particular, Greek gave Italy two gods, Apollo and Heracles, who were borrowed and adapted widely across Latin, the Sabellian languages and Etruscan.⁴ A number of sites in Southern Italy, including Croton, Vibo Valentia and Caulonia, have dedications in both Greek and Oscan, some of which are to identical or equivalent deities.⁵ In some inscriptions, borrowing and interference may also extend beyond the names of new deities or practices to affect the syntax, basic vocabulary or form of the dedications.

Although dedications with inscriptions are not found in all societies, the practice of giving durable goods to divine recipients is very widespread. In many ancient Mediterranean societies, this was a common way in which people sought to maintain good relations with the gods, alongside prayer and sacrifice.⁶ The dedicated objects could be specially made or everyday objects could be ‘converted’ into dedications.⁷ Both of these types of dedication seem to be present in the Oscan-speaking world. Small terracotta statues have been found at various sites, including Rossano, while objects such as helmets could be repurposed by, for example, adding an inscription. It is not always clear that our concept of a ‘dedication’ maps perfectly onto any ancient category, nor has it been agreed what exactly the modern criteria for a ‘dedication’ are.⁸ Suggested criteria, such as the presence of a formulaic inscription or discovery inside a sanctuary, may erroneously include certain inscriptions and exclude others.⁹ I have attempted to explain the range of possible formulae found in the inscriptions associated with dedications, deities and sanctuaries (see below), taking a relatively inclusive approach.

Our picture of the Greek practice of dedication is more complete than our picture of non-Roman Italian practices. By the ninth century, gifts to the gods were common in Greek sanctuaries and by 700 BC these objects were increasingly

⁴ Clackson and Horrocks 2007: 45. ⁵ Poccetti 2008: 25–6.

⁶ Bodel and Kajava 2009: 19. ⁷ Osborne 2004: 2.

⁸ Bodel and Kajava 2009: 17.

⁹ These are the criteria suggested by Poccetti 2009c: 45.

inscribed, often in verse. The act of dedicating an object probably included a sacrifice with libation and prayer.¹⁰ Military and athletic victory dedications were limited to those who had achieved something notable in these areas. Otherwise, there is huge variety in the form of dedications, the main limitation being cost.¹¹

The core of almost all Greek dedicatory inscriptions was as follows: dedicator as subject, verb of dedicating (usually ἀνέθηκε) the dedication as the direct object, and the god as the indirect object. Alternatively, the god could appear in the genitive, indicating the god's ownership of the dedication. In either case, the object could be called 'me', making the dedication a 'speaking object'. There could be additional details about the circumstances of the dedication, most commonly identifying the act of dedication as part of a vow (εὐξάμενος, 'having prayed', modifying the dedicator), as a tithe (δεκάτη) or 'first-fruits' (ἀπαρχή).¹² Other extra elements include further details of the dedicator, a divine epithet or indications that the dedication is the result of an athletic or military victory. Some inscriptions simply record the name and details of the dedicator, with no mention of the deity.¹³

It is not clear how reliant the Oscan practice was on Greek models. Poccetti suggests that the proliferation of dedicatory texts in Oscan starting in the fourth century shows a 'renouveau des relations et des échanges culturels entre Grecs et indigènes'.¹⁴ He believes that Oscan-speakers had no epigraphy in cult places until they adopted the Greek habit of inscribed dedications, and that the Sabellian habit of dedicatory inscriptions started with the Oscan-speakers in closest contact with the Greek world, before spreading further north.¹⁵ If this analysis is correct, it has widespread implications for our understanding of religious practices and the results of cultural contact with Magna Graecia in these societies. It is, however,

¹⁰ Day 2010: 5. ¹¹ Umholtz 2002: 279. ¹² Day 2010: 6.

¹³ For example, CEG 399 (Lokroi Epizephyrioi, 472 BC) reads, 'I, Euthumos, a Lokrian, son of Astukles, won three times at the Olympics. And he placed this image for mortals to look on.'

¹⁴ Poccetti 2010: 668. ¹⁵ Poccetti 2009c: 57.

very difficult to evaluate this theory given the paucity of early evidence. At best, we can seek to better understand the features of South Oscan dedications which may have been borrowed from or influenced by Greek practices.

Details of the corpus

In this chapter, I will consider the inscriptions named by Rix as ‘Weihschriften’ (Lu 13–37, 64; Me 1, 2, 4, 5),¹⁶ plus other inscriptions (Lu 3, 5, 6, 7, 9, 38) where a deity is mentioned or there are other good reasons for viewing it as a dedication of some kind. Some inscriptions new to Crawford’s edition are also included (see [Table 14](#)). Lu 39 (Anxia 1) I consider to be an unclear case, which will be discussed further below. This gives a total of 50 inscriptions.

Rossano di Vaglio is an extremely important site for the discussion of dedications.¹⁷ It furnishes us with the most Oscan dedications of any site by far, the next most prolific site being the sanctuary of Pietrabbondante in Samnium, which has provided a dozen dedicatory inscriptions written in the Central Oscan alphabet. This is in large part due to the extensive excavations at both sites. Rossano accounts for around a quarter of the total number of Oscan inscribed dedications. There are a total of 124 extant dedications in Oscan: 50 from the South Oscan area, of which 32 are from Rossano; the remaining 74 are from the North and Central areas.

The Rossano site ([Figure 6](#)) was sacred to Mefitis, a native Italic goddess,¹⁸ though there are also dedications to Jupiter and Mefitis (Lu 7, 35) and Mamers (Lu 28, 36) at the site. One inscription is either to Mefitian Venus, or to Venus and Mefitis, depending on the reconstruction (Lu 31). It is not clear if these were seen as two different goddesses or two names for the same goddess, and whether these names were also seen as names for

¹⁶ Me 3 is an erroneous copy of the text of Me 1 or Me 2.

¹⁷ See the summary of the history of the site in [Appendix 1](#).

¹⁸ Mefitis is also named at other sites: Hi 3 (Abellinum 1), Hi 4 (Aeclanum 3), Po 55 (Pompei 38).

Table 14 *Dedicatory inscriptions by findspot*

Findspot	Number of inscriptions	Inscription numbers
Unknown	3	Lu 26 (Luc.Bret.Sic 1) Lu 18 (Luc.Bret.Sic 3) Lu 19 (Lucania 1)
Lucania		
Rossano di Vaglio	32	Lu 5 (Potentia 1), Lu 12 (Potentia 2), Lu 8 (Potentia 3) Lu 10 (Potentia 4), Lu 11 (Potentia 5) Lu 9 (part) (Potentia 6) – (Potentia 7) Lu 9 (part) (Potentia 8), Lu 6 (Potentia 9) Lu 7 (Potentia 10), Lu 35 (Potentia 11) Lu 27 (Potentia 12), Lu 16 (Potentia 13) Lu 34 (Potentia 14), Lu 33 (Potentia 15) Lu 32 (Potentia 16), Lu 15 (Potentia 17) – (Potentia 18), Lu 36 (Potentia 19) Lu 28 (Potentia 20), Lu 29 (Potentia 21) Lu 31 (Potentia 22), Lu 64 (Potentia 23) Lu 30 (Potentia 24), Lu 21 (Potentia 25) Lu 20 (Potentia 26), Lu 60 (part) (Potentia 27) Lu 22 (Potentia 28) – (Potentia 29) Lu 57 (Potentia 30), Lu 59 (Potentia 31) Lu 17 (Potentia 32)
Paestum	2	Lu 14 (Paestum 1) Paestum 2
Tricarico	1	Lu 13 (Potentia 40)
Cosilinum	1	Lu 3 (Cosilinum 1)
Bantia	1	Lu 38 (Bantia 2)
Metapontum	1	Lu 37 (Metapontum 1)
Anxia	1?	?Lu 39 (Anxia 1)?
Bruttium		
Crimisa	2	Lu 23 (Crimisa 1) Lu 24 (Crimisa 2)
Caulonia	1	Caulonia 2
Vibo Valentia	1	Lu 25 (Vibo 2)
Sicily		
Messana	4	Me 1 (Messana 4) Me 2 (Messana 5) Me 4 (Messana 6) Me 5 (Messana 7)
Total	50	



Figure 6 Rossano di Vaglio, from the south corner. The long rectangular great altar and the pavement around it are in the right-hand part of the image. Author's photo, May 2012

Aphrodite.¹⁹ In some cases (e.g. Lu 31, 36) the other deities are 'Mefitian', either because of their presence in the same sanctuary or because of a special relationship with Mefitis.²⁰ The sanctuary site gives us two main types of text: about three-quarters of the total are from the fourth to the second century, and use the South Oscan language and alphabet. The remaining quarter are in Latin, and date from the Late Republic and Early Empire.²¹ All of the attested named dedicators are male.²²

As discussed in [Chapter 3](#), the chronology of the inscriptions of Rossano is not easy to determine.²³ Because of the extensive re-use of inscriptions at the site, it becomes very difficult indeed to establish the relative chronology of the inscriptions with any certainty. Crawford's relative chronology, which places the personal dedications mostly before official inscriptions, is helpful

¹⁹ Poccetti 2008: 27.

²² Lejeune 1990: 38.

²⁰ Lejeune 1990: 58.

²³ See also [Appendix 2](#).

²¹ Lejeune 1990: 25.

to a degree.²⁴ If this change of purpose took place at the sanctuary, it is likely to have affected the language and formulae of the inscriptions at the site, since official and personal dedications are liable to use different language. Therefore, we should be careful not to interpret differences between early personal dedications and later official dedications as change over time.

The other sites where dedications have been found are spread across Lucania, Bruttium and Messana. Each site provides only one or two dedicatory inscriptions, though all give us at least one other Oscan inscription of some kind. Three inscriptions (Lu 18, 19, 26) are of unknown provenance, but are assumed to come from this area because they are written in an adapted form of the Greek Ionic alphabet. Lu 18 and 19 pre-date most of South Oscan epigraphy, and are written right-to-left, which suggests that the writer may have been familiar with the epigraphy of Oscan-speaking Campania (see [Chapter 3](#)). Some of these inscriptions have archaeological or historical contexts which make them easier to date than the inscriptions of Rossano di Vaglio. However, the small number of inscriptions from each site makes it difficult to see developments over time within one community.

Inscribed dedications in the South Oscan area come in a number of different forms ([Table 15](#)). The dedicatory inscriptions on stone in this corpus are primarily in the shape of blocks or steles. Probably many of them are statue bases, and in some cases we can confirm this by references in the text to statues or by the remainders of metal on the stone ([Figure 7](#)). This suggests that it was not always the inscription alone that was dedicated. Rather, the inscriptions often commemorated the dedication of another object which has since been lost. Other shapes, which suggest the stone itself is the dedication, are uncommon. Lu 8 (Potentia 3) is a column, inscribed on the flat top surface, which is presumed to be dedicatory because of its presence at Rossano, though there is no god's name mentioned. It is possible that it fulfilled some other function, such as commemorating building work for the sanctuary. Note that

²⁴ Crawford 2011b: 53. See [Appendix 1](#) for additional details of the site.

Details of the corpus

Table 15 *Materials used for dedicatory inscriptions*

Material	Number of inscriptions	Forms
Stone	41	Block: 36 Stele: 3 Pediment: 1 Column: 1
Ceramic	3	Brick: 1 Spool?: 1 Bowl fragment: 1
Bronze	6	Tablet: 3 Helmet: 3
Total	50	50



Figure 7 Top surface of Lu 64 (Potentia 23). Showing holes with traces of metal, probably from the two feet of a standing statue. Author's photo, 26/04/12. Museo Archeologico Nazionale della Basilicata

Rix is incorrect about the form and material of Lu 24 (Crimisa 2), which is sandstone.

The ceramic ‘spool’ Lu 26 (Luc.Bret.Sic 1) is of unknown provenance. It may be a miniature altar, in which case it was manufactured for dedicatory purposes; if it is a pulley or spool, it was perhaps repurposed. A brick (Lu 23) with an inscription scratched after firing is discussed in more detail below. The other ceramic object is from Paestum (Paestum 2). The genitive of a male name was scratched after firing on the underside of the wall of the black slip bowl. Similar dedicatory objects have been found in Samnium²⁵ and Campania.²⁶

The re-use of bronze helmets as dedications suggests that these represented spoils of war dedicated by military victors, although the inscriptions do not specify this. Since this practice is known from the very earliest times in the Greek world, it has been suggested that the dedication of metal helmets in South Oscan may be the result of ‘Hellenisation’.²⁷ Similar votive objects found at other Oscan cult sites, such as Pietrabbondante, are uninscribed.²⁸ Among the Greek-language dedicatory inscriptions on bronze armour, there is at least one which consists of an Oscan-style name with Greek morphology. The inscription on a cuirass (*SEG* 29.1026) is dated to around 330 BC and reads $\nu\omicron\upsilon\iota\omicron\sigma\ \beta\alpha\nu\upsilon\iota\omicron\sigma$.²⁹ This inscription indicates that dedicating inscribed armour was a practice shared between Greek- and Oscan-speaking (and bilingual) communities across the region. Bronze could also be used for dedications in the form of tablets. There are three South Oscan examples: two from Rossano, Lu 12 (Potentia 2) and Lu 20 (Potentia 26), and one from Vibo Valentia, Lu 25 (Vibo 2). Similar texts are also found in and around Pietrabbondante and in the North

²⁵ Sa 60 (Bovianum 41), Sa 43 (Bovianum 42), Sa 45 (Teruentum 23).

²⁶ Cm 11 (Cumae 5), Teanum Sidicinum 4. ²⁷ Poccetti 2009c: 52.

²⁸ Other helmets with Sabellian inscriptions seem to be inscribed with the names of their owners, on the inside of the helmet, as name-labels, rather than being dedications. Sp BO 1 (Interpromium B), Sp BA 1 (Interpromium A). Poccetti 2009c: 52.

²⁹ Zimmermann 1979; Guzzo 1981; Colonna 1984. This inscription has no archaeological context, but is assumed to come from Southern Italy.

South Oscan dedication formulae

Oscan area.³⁰ Some of these are likely to have been fixed to stone columns or blocks.

The proportions of materials used for dedications are slightly different in the South (82.0% stone, 12.0% metal, 6.0% ceramics) than in the North Oscan area (71.4% stone, 23.8% metal, 4.8% ceramics), and both are considerably different from the Central Oscan area (47.2% stone, 17.0% metal, 35.8% ceramics).³¹ What might cause this difference in epigraphic habit is not clear. There is some evidence that terracotta, and ceramics generally, were more commonly used in the Northern and Central areas because of the lower availability of stone suitable for inscriptions. However, the South Oscan area also did not have much hard stone available, as shown by the use of soft limestone for the majority of inscriptions. The apparently higher use of stone in the extant dedications in the South may therefore reflect different epigraphic habits rather than different availabilities of material. For example, both Rossano di Vaglio and Pietrabbondante are large sanctuary sites with high numbers of uninscribed ceramic dedicatory objects. However, there are far fewer large dedicatory inscriptions on stone found at Pietrabbondante, and there are fewer inscribed ceramic objects at Rossano. This variance may show regional variation in practice, though it may also show that these were different kinds of site in some way that is not clear to us.

South Oscan dedication formulae

It is difficult to give an all-purpose definition for what a 'dedicatory' formula must include. Guarducci gives a schema for dedication inscriptions as follows: (1) name of dedicant(s), (2) verb of offering, (3) name of the divinity in the genitive

³⁰ E.g. Sa 26 (Teruentum 35), Sa 24 (Teruentum 20); Pg 4 (Sulmo 3), VM 3 (Antinum 1).

³¹ I am not including the Capuan *iúvila* inscriptions in this count, since I assume that they are gravestones or memorials relating to feasts rather than dedications. If these were to be included, the Central area would have an even greater proportion of ceramic religious inscriptions as compared with the South (45.6%), since the majority of the *iúvila* inscriptions are made of terracotta.

or the dative.³² A variety of other elements, such as the date, the motive, the nature of the monument and the names of other people who helped in the making of the monument, may be possible additions to this core formula.³³ However, such a schema is already too restrictive, given that both Greek and Roman epigraphy give us inscriptions where the name of the deity is omitted or implied; this information was probably obvious to the viewer from the location or other attributes of the dedication itself.³⁴ The restriction on the grammatical case of the divine name also does not reflect the range of possible structures accurately. Therefore, it is probably more helpful to talk about the elements which *could* be included in a dedicatory inscription in Oscan, and the combinations in which they appear. We can suppose that the core options available to a writer of a dedicatory inscription would be:

DN + OBJ + V + GN + (CIRC)

DN = Name of dedicator(s)

OBJ = Name of dedicated object³⁵

V = Verb of dedicating

GN = Name of god

CIRC = Additional circumstances and details (e.g. the reason for the dedication, official approval, the date, cost, etc.)

All of these elements are optional in Oscan dedicatory inscriptions (Table 16). None of these elements appears in every single extant example, and only one inscription contains every element. Eight inscriptions have both the name of the dedicator and the name of the deity. Of course, some inscriptions are too damaged to see the full original formula as intended, but others seem deliberately to include only the dedicator or the deity. Verbs of dedicating are not used in every South Oscan dedication, but are a possibility.

³² Guarducci 1987: 254.

³³ Poccetti 2009c: 46.

³⁴ Poccetti 2009c: 46.

³⁵ Lejeune includes words naming the object, such as *δουνάκλουμ*, in the 'circumstances' category. He names only three categories: name of dedicator in nominative, name of deity in dative and indication of the circumstances. Lejeune 1990: 42.

Table 16 *Elements in South Oscan dedicatory formulae*
(* marks damaged inscription)

Inscription	DN	OBJ	V	GN	CIRC
*Lu 3 (Cosilinum 1)			✓	✓	✓
Lu 5 (Potentia 1)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Lu 6 (Potentia 9)	✓		✓	✓	✓
Lu 7 (Potentia 10)	✓		✓	✓	✓
Lu 8 (Potentia 3)	✓				
*Lu 9 (part) (Potentia 6)				✓	
*Lu 9 (part) (Potentia 8)			✓		
*Lu 10 (Potentia 4)					✓
*Lu 11 (Potentia 5)					
*Lu 12 (Potentia 2)			✓		✓
Lu 13 (Potentia 40)	✓		✓	✓	✓
Lu 14 (Paestum 1)	✓		✓	✓	✓
Lu 15 (Potentia 17)	✓			✓	✓
Lu 16 (Potentia 13)	✓			✓	✓
*Lu 17 (Potentia 32)	✓				
*Lu 20 (Potentia 26)			✓	✓	
Lu 18 (Luc.Bret.Sic 3)	✓		✓		
Lu 19 (Lucania 1)	✓		✓		
Lu 21 (Potentia 25)		✓			
Lu 22 (Potentia 28)	✓	✓			
Lu 23 (Crimisa 1)					✓
Lu 24 (Crimisa 2)					✓
Lu 25 (Vibo 2)				✓	✓
Lu 26 (Luc.Bret.Sic 1)			✓	✓	
*Lu 27 (Potentia 12)	✓			✓	
Lu 28 (Potentia 20)				✓	
*Lu 29 (Potentia 21)				✓	✓
Lu 30 (Potentia 24)				✓	
Lu 31 (Potentia 22)				✓	
Lu 32 (Potentia 16)				✓	
Lu 33 (Potentia 15)				✓	
Lu 34 (Potentia 14)				✓	
Lu 35 (Potentia 11)				✓	
Lu 36 (Potentia 19)				✓	
Lu 37 (Metapontum 1)					✓
*Lu 38 (Bantia 2)	✓			✓	
Lu 57 (Potentia 30)	✓				

(cont.)

Dedicatory inscriptions

Table 16 (*cont.*)

Inscription	DN	OBJ	V	GN	CIRC
*Lu 59 (Potentia 31)	✓				
*Lu 60 (part) (Potentia 27)					
Lu 64 (Potentia 23)	✓	✓		✓	✓
Me 1 (Messana 4)	✓		✓	✓	✓
Me 2 (Messana 5)	✓		✓	✓	✓
*Me 4 (Messana 6)	✓				
*Me 5 (Messana 7)	✓			✓	
*Potentia 7					
*Potentia 18	✓			✓	
*Potentia 29	✓				
Paestum 2	✓				
Caulonia 2				✓	
? Lu 39 (Anxia 1)?					

Dedicators

Where the name of the dedicator is given, it tends to be placed prominently on the first line of the inscription, usually as the very first element.³⁶ In several cases, the name of the dedicator has the first line or the first two lines of the inscription to itself (Lu 6, 7, 8, 15, 18). This suggests that the name of the dedicator was considered the most significant aspect of many inscriptions, and this layout would have enabled partial readings of the inscription by people who might struggle to read a longer text. The nature of the dedication and the name of the deity would have been self-evident to such readers from contextual clues.

All of the named dedicators in the South Oscan corpus are men. This reflects Oscan practice generally: only one Oscan inscription names a female dedicator (Hi 4/Aeclanum 3).³⁷ Twenty-six out of fifty inscriptions do not name the dedicator,

³⁶ Poccetti 2009c: 49.

³⁷ This inscription is a stone statue base dedicated to Mefitis: *siviū. magiū / mefit(ei)*. If female dedications to Mefitis were possible, some of the dedications at Rossano which do not give the dedicator's name (Lu 31–6, for example) may have been dedicated by women.

whether because of damage or by design. While we are not always sure of the number of people involved in the dedication, we have no examples which explicitly name more than one dedicator apart from Me 1 and Me 2, which state that they were set up by two *meddices*. Inscriptions with multiple dedicators are not common in Sabellian languages on the whole, but do come up occasionally.³⁸ The lack of multiple dedicators in the South may be down to chance, or may reflect a habit of dedications naming only one individual.

Lu 5, 6 and 7 all mention that they have been set up $\sigma\epsilon\nu\alpha\tau\eta\iota\sigma\ \tau\alpha\nu\gamma\iota\nu\omicron\delta$, ‘by decision of the senate’, which implies the involvement of a group of people. This formula is common in the Oscan corpus, but it is only known to be used in a dedicatory context at Rossano. This site’s status as a large monumentalised sanctuary may have made it a particularly appropriate location for collective and officially sanctioned dedications.

Name of the dedicated object

While the dedication is sometimes called a ‘gift’ or a ‘tithe’ further specifics are not usually given.³⁹ Presumably this is because the form of the dedication was self-evident in most cases. There are possible exceptions such as Lu 20, which seems to mention bronze statues (see discussion below). We do not have any South Oscan dedications that refer to themselves explicitly in the first person. These occur rarely in Oscan as a whole. Of the dedications, only Fr 4 (Histonium 7) and Cm 10 (Herculaneum 1) imply that the object is speaking, in both cases using the verb **súm**, ‘I am’. Rarely, a South Oscan dedication implies an omitted ‘I am’, for example, in Paestum 2 by the use of the genitive of the dedicator’s name, although this inscription may be a mark of ownership on a piece that was later found in a dedicatory context.

³⁸ Pg 5 (Sulmo 2), Sa 24 (Teruentum 20), maybe Cm 9 (Cumae 4); VM 3 (Antinum 1).

³⁹ The tithe is sometimes believed to be the adoption of a Greek practice, e.g. Lejeune 1990: 42; however, the surrendering of one-tenth of possessions or booty is attested in texts from several branches of Indo-European, and in many non-Indo-European-speaking cultures: see Mullen 2013: 207 n. 137.

The Oscan **dunúm deded**, equivalent to Latin *donum dedit*, ‘gave a gift’, does not appear in South Oscan, assuming that the fragmentary Lu 20 has not had this formula removed by damage.⁴⁰ This phrase appears in Latin, Umbrian, North/Central Oscan and Venetic.⁴¹ If the use of the formula is a sign of Romanisation as has been claimed,⁴² then the lack of the formula in South Oscan may show a lower level of Roman influence than in the north.

Verb of dedicating

In the Oscan corpus as a whole, the verb of dedicating is typically **dede(d)**, ‘gave’, although we also have **súm**, ‘I am’ in two cases (Fr 4/Histonium 7, Cm 10/Herculaneum 1). In Sa 21 (Teruentum 5), an inscription on a temple façade, we have a verb **dadikatted**, ‘dedicated’, probably a calque from Latin *dedicavit*.

The selection of verbs used at Rossano is a little different. Lejeune states that none of the dedications in Oscan from Rossano have a verb of dedication.⁴³ By this, he means that some inscriptions do contain verbs, but these are not specialised verbs of dedication: they include $\alpha\lambda\alpha\mu\alpha\tau\epsilon\delta$, ‘he ordered’ (Lu 5, 6, 7) and $\pi\rho\omega\phi\alpha\tau\epsilon\delta$, ‘he approved’ (Lu 5, 9, 12). In Lu 20, Rix tentatively reads the letters $\langle\epsilon\delta\epsilon\rangle$ which may be part of the verb $\delta\epsilon\delta\epsilon\tau$, ‘he gave’.⁴⁴ There are also several fragmentary inscriptions which could have space for a verb (Lu 22, for example). But it is notable that in many cases even the fragmentary inscriptions of Rossano do not seem to have space for a verb, suggesting that verbs were rarely used.

At South Oscan sites other than Rossano, verbs of dedicating do appear, typically $\delta\epsilon\delta\epsilon\tau$.⁴⁵ The other verb which occurs is *anafaket* ‘he dedicated’, spelt variously $\alpha\nu\alpha\phi\alpha\kappa\epsilon\tau$ (Lu 18),

⁴⁰ Poccetti 2009c: 73.

⁴¹ Euler 1982: 7–8. A similar but not identical formula with a different derivation of the noun, $\delta\acute{\omega}\rho\omicron\nu\ \delta\iota\delta\acute{\omicron}\nu\alpha\iota$, is found in Greek. Poccetti 2009c: 23.

⁴² Euler 1982: 17. ⁴³ Lejeune 1990: 41. ⁴⁴ Rix 2002: 128; Poccetti 2009c: 55.

⁴⁵ As well as a bronze tablet (Lu 20), this verb appears on a bronze helmet (Lu 19). It may be significant that this is not a specialised verb of dedicating. Poccetti suggests that Oscan $\delta\epsilon\delta\epsilon\tau$ is used in imitation of the Greek $\delta\iota\delta\omicron\omega\mu\iota$, as a loan-shift taking on

αφακειτ (Lu 13) and something like αναφεδ (Lu 14), if this is the same word.⁴⁶ This verb does not appear in the rest of the Oscan corpus, or indeed in the rest of Italic, although verbs of the *fac*- root appear without the prefix.⁴⁷ Traditionally, the verb has been taken as a combination of two native Oscan elements. The *faket* element is based on the Oscan perfect, *fefacid*, but without the reduplication; it may have been deduplicated because it is a compound.⁴⁸ The prefix is usually understood as *an*- (Umbrian **an-tentu**, ‘lay on top’, *an-seriato*, ‘observe’), with anaptyxis.⁴⁹ For similar anaptyxis before this root in Oscan, compare **manafum**, ‘I entrust’, third-person (aa)**manaffed** < **man-fe-f*- < *(*man*-) *d^he-d^hh₁*-. This anaptyxis occurs with *-nf*- clusters but not with *-n*- plus another consonant (cf. **manafum**, ‘I entrust’, **anafriss**, a divine epithet, but **anter**, ‘between, within’). The form αφακειτ would represent an analogical extension of the form without anaptyxis found in verbs not beginning with *f*-. An alternative suggestion is that the prefix is **anad*- for αναφακετ and simply **an*- for αφακειτ.⁵⁰

However, Poccetti offers an alternative explanation: αναφακετ and its variants may be calques or loan-shifts based on the common Greek dedicatory verb ἀνέθηκε (ἀνατίθημι).⁵¹ In Greek, the root **d^heh₁*- means ‘place’, rather than ‘do/make’ as it does in Italic. In his view this makes a partial calque from Greek with a directly borrowed prefix more likely than an independent development in Oscan.⁵² This argument is somewhat weakened by the fact that there are parallels for **d^heh₁*- meaning ‘place’ in compounds in Italic, such as Oscan **manafum**, ‘hand over’, Latin *mando*, ‘entrust’.

Poccetti also sees the preverb *ana*- as a potentially borrowed element. Poccetti suggests that the *ana*- preverb is the result of a misanalysis of the Greek verb ἀνέθηκε as *ana*+

the meaning ‘make a dedication, give to a god’. but this is not certain. Poccetti 2010: 668.

⁴⁶ The word αναφεδ may show a shorter form of the same root, or may be another lexeme altogether.

⁴⁷ Poccetti 2010: 668.

⁴⁸ Buck 1928: 170; Adams 2003: 150; Willi 2010: 8; Dupraz 2012a: 28.

⁴⁹ Buck 1928: 193; Untermann 2000: 94. ⁵⁰ Lejeune 1966: 176.

⁵¹ Poccetti 2009c: 52. ⁵² Untermann 2000: 258; Poccetti 2009c: 53.

DO/MAKE.⁵³ In $\alpha\nu\alpha\epsilon\delta$ (Lu 14), or $\alpha\nu\alpha[\text{ff}]\epsilon\delta$ as Poccetti reads it, he suggests that there is a partial calque, with the preverb borrowed from Greek, but with the verb remodelling itself on other verbs such as **aamanaffed**, ‘he entrusted’, and **prúffed**, ‘he set up’, which also have the root $*d^heh_1$.⁵⁴ He therefore sees this verb as part borrowing (the prefix), part loan-shift/calque (the verbal root).

It is not clear that Poccetti’s scenario is more likely than this being a native Oscan verb, albeit perhaps one with a limited distribution. The kind of calquing he describes, a borrowed prefix plus a translated verbal stem, is relatively uncommon. Where affixes are borrowed into a language, it is usually as an element within a borrowed word or series of words; later, these affixes may come to be productive with native stems.⁵⁵ There are therefore difficulties with seeing $\alpha\nu\alpha$ - as an independently borrowed morpheme. If contact is a factor here, it may be that Oscan-speakers familiar with Greek epigraphy selected *anafaket* from several equivalent Oscan options because of its similarity to the Greek verb. This kind of variation would be enough to explain the apparent higher popularity of this verb in the south as compared with the north.

Also worthy of mention here are verbs such as $\alpha\lambda\alpha\mu\alpha\tau\epsilon\delta$, ‘he ordered’, $\omega\pi\sigma\alpha\nu\omega$, ‘make (gerundive)’, $\sigma\tau\alpha\phi\alpha\lambda\alpha\nu\omega$, ‘set up’. These are not verbs that are confined to dedicatory contexts, and as such they were not counted by Lejeune when he discussed the dedicatory formulae of Rossano; but they are also used in inscriptions such as Lu 5, 6 and 7 which are clearly dedicatory in nature. As in secular building inscriptions, they follow the formula ‘X ordered (by decision of the senate) that (this) be built/set up’. In this situation the ‘officialness’ of the inscription seems to dictate the choice of formula.

Name of the god

Greek prose dedicatory inscriptions use both the dative and the genitive.⁵⁶ The genitive seems to stress the god’s ownership,

⁵³ Poccetti 2010: 669.

⁵⁴ Poccetti 2009c: 53.

⁵⁵ Winford 2003: 62.

⁵⁶ Day 2010: 6.

rather than the act of giving by the dedicator. Examples of the use of the genitive are widespread, including in the Greek used in Italy, and include both poetry and prose inscriptions.⁵⁷ The genitive may be used alone, or it may be integrated into the syntax of a longer text.

Oscan most frequently uses a god's name in the dative. The genitive is used in four South Oscan examples where the name of a deity appears; nineteen inscriptions use the dative, and one the vocative.⁵⁸ In North and Central Oscan, the genitive of the god's name is quite rare, occurring in five of those inscriptions which name a deity, versus twenty-three examples of the dative.⁵⁹ In Furfo 1, Fr 5 and Hi 6, the genitive stands alone, and forms the whole of the inscription. In the other cases it qualifies the possessed object, which is either implied (Cm 10: *herentateis. sūm*, 'I belong to Venus') or stated explicitly (Sa 30: *[sakaraj]klum maatreis [-?]-[ras futre[-?]-le*, 'sacred place of mother [?] and daughter). The genitive implies a speaking object, whether or not the verb 'I am' is used explicitly. The idea behind the genitive, as in Greek, seems to be one of emphasising the god's ownership of the object.

The proportion of divine names in the genitive in South Oscan is very similar to that in the North and Central areas. The four inscriptions where the genitive is used are Lu 6, Lu 7 (Figure 8), Lu 26 and Me 5. Lu 26 is the only one where the genitive seems to be part of the syntax of the rest of the inscription. In the others, although there is a longer text, the genitive appears alone at the end of the inscription in a syntactic unit of its own. In Lu 6 and 7, this name is set apart not just by its

⁵⁷ For example, *CEG* 302.1–3, Boeotia, c. 540 BC; Dubois GG I 32, Naples, c. 190 BC; Dubois GG II 9, Sybaris, 550–500 BC; Dubois GG II 113, Unknown location in Italy, 510–475.

⁵⁸ For those who have accepted Rix's conjecture *τΟΥΤΙΚΕΘ ΔΙΠΟΤΕΡΕΘ*, reading the <M> characters as *san*, the genitive is used earliest in the 'Pre-Samnite' fifth-century inscription from Nerulum (Ps 1/Nerulum 1). Rix 2002: 71. If this were the case, the alternation between the genitive and the dative, under possible Greek influence, would have a very long history in Italic. However it seems more likely that the correct reading is *τΟΥΤΙΚΕΜ ΔΙΠΟΤΕΡΕΜ*, in the accusative. Crawford 2011b: 1340.

⁵⁹ These five inscriptions are: Furfo 1, Fr 4 (Histonium 7), Fr 5 (Histonium 5), Sa 30 (Fagifulae 3), Hi 6 (Aeclanum 1) and Cm 10 (Herculaneum 1). Cm 10 also has a dative of the god's name.

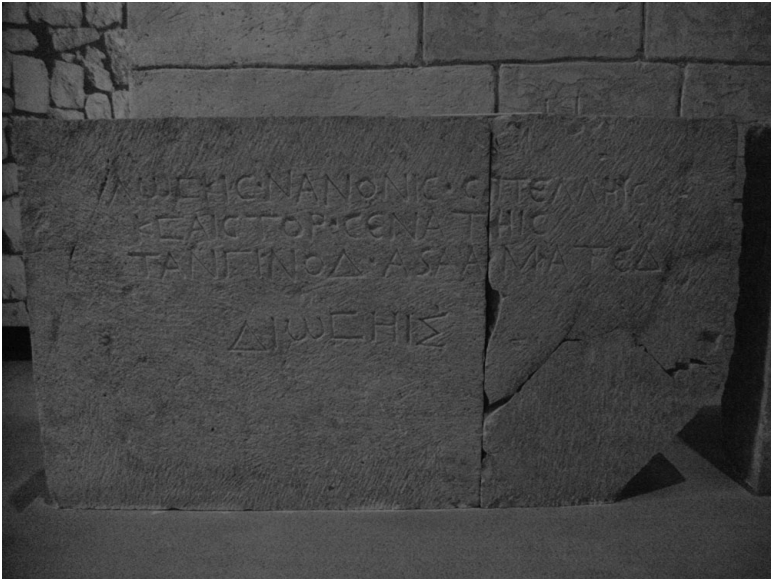


Figure 8 Lu 6 (Potentia 9). Author's photo, 27/04/12. Museo Archeologico Nazionale della Basilicata

position, but by the use of older letter forms such as the four-bar sigma. This use of a genitive as an independent syntactic unit in a longer inscription does not occur elsewhere in either Oscan or Umbrian, though the use of stand-alone genitives is found.

Poccetti suggests that this pattern is used because more complex Oscan dedicatory formulae developed in parallel with, or even after, the formulae for official inscriptions put up by magistrates. In cases such as Lu 6 and 7, he suggests, the official formula was thought to be more central to the meaning of the inscription, so that the religious nature of the inscription is indicated by one syntactically isolated word.⁶⁰ While this is plausible, it does not explain why this syntax only appears in the South Oscan area, and does not appear at important cult sites in other areas such as Pietrabbondante, where official

⁶⁰ Poccetti 2009c: 56.

dedications always use the dative and incorporate it into the syntax of the rest of the inscription.

It is possible that the slightly higher proportion of divine names in the genitive in South Oscan, appearing in contexts where it is not used in the other Sabellian languages, reflects some level of influence from Greek.⁶¹ However, the Greek inscriptions usually show a genitive as the whole inscription or with the verb ‘to be’. Longer inscriptions with a genitive of the god’s name as a final tag are not a common Greek usage; if anything, in longer inscriptions the god’s name tends to come at the beginning. It is possible, therefore, that the use of the genitive of a divine name at the end of a longer inscription is a South Oscan innovation.

Additional circumstances

The formula *brateis datas*, ‘for a grace received’, appears four times in this corpus (Lu 14, 15, 16, 64).⁶² It turns up seven times elsewhere in Oscan.⁶³ It is unique in being a shared religious formula across almost all of the Oscan-speaking area, though it has not yet been found in Bruttium. As such, this formula is one of our best pieces of evidence for an epigraphic practice shared by most Oscan-speakers. Poccetti’s statement that this formula is most frequently attested in the south is a little misleading, since nearly as many examples appear in Samnium. He also sees the formula spreading from south to north: the inscription Lu 14 (c. 300) may be the oldest dated attestation of this formula in Oscan, suggesting to him an innovation c. 300 followed by a spread from Lucania to the north.⁶⁴ With so few texts, and the problems of dating already discussed, I cannot be as certain as Poccetti that this formula radiated from south to north.⁶⁵ If anything, this formula seems fairly equally spread

⁶¹ See Clackson 2012b: 140 for this possibility in Me 5.

⁶² Lejeune names the first three, but Lu 64 has since been discovered. Lejeune 1990: 42.

⁶³ Pg 4 (Sulmo 3), Pg 6 (Superaequum 3), MV 5 (Incerulae 4), Sa 59 (Saepinum 4), Sa 60 (Bovianum 41), Sa 26 (Teruentum 35), Hi 5 (Aeclanum 2).

⁶⁴ Poccetti 2009c: 85; Poccetti 2010: 669. ⁶⁵ Poccetti 2009c: 87; Poccetti 2010: 670.

across the Oscan-speaking area. The time depth between the earliest usage in Paestum (end of the fourth century) and its use in the north (first quarter of the third century) does not seem large enough to make the direction of travel completely clear, although generally the earlier examples from further south are fourth/third century and those further north are third/second century.

The meaning of the phrase *brateis datas* could suggest knowledge of similar phrases in Greek. In Greek, the terms χάρις, ‘grace’ and δίδωμι, ‘give’ (or ἀντιδίδωμι, ‘give in return’) are found in various combinations, in both literature and inscriptions, particularly from the Hellenistic period onwards, to express the idea of giving something to the god in return for a favour.⁶⁶ The Oscan phrase does not borrow the term χάρις, nor does it calque any particular set phrase from Greek, but rather has adopted the semantics of the phrase and created a new fixed formula in Oscan.⁶⁷ The word used for ‘grace, favour’ is *brati-* (< **g^wrh₂-t-*), which has the same lexical root as Latin *gratia*, *grates*.⁶⁸ The Oscan word seems to have undergone a similar expansion of meaning as the Latin to include ‘divine favour, grace’, from an original meaning ‘thanks’. *Brati-* still has the meaning ‘thanks’ in the Tabula Bantina, and so the original semantics must have continued to exist alongside the new specialised meaning.⁶⁹

It is worth noting that the Gaulish term *bratou*, which has an etymologically identical root (< **g^wrh₂-to-*) and apparently similar meaning, is used in a dozen or so Gaulish inscriptions of Southern Gaul written in the Greek alphabet, in the formula δεδε βρατου δεκαντεν ‘gave as a tithe (in return for) a grace’.⁷⁰ In Gaulish, the phrase βρατου δεκαντεν always follows the main

⁶⁶ Lazzarini 1976: no. 708, 792; Lazzarini 1990: 850.

⁶⁷ Poccetti sees the construction in the Oscan version of the formula as a ‘genitive absolute’ expression. Poccetti 2009c: 83. However, doubts have been raised over whether the genitive absolute exists in Oscan, since this is the only phrase in which it appears. It could be a genitive of concern fossilised into a formulaic phrase: Tikkanen 2011: 107.

⁶⁸ The noun is formed as a feminine t-stem. See Rix 2000: 209–10 for more detail.

⁶⁹ Untermann 2000: 150; Rix 2000: 215.

⁷⁰ Poccetti 2010: 671; Mullen 2008; Mullen 2013: 189–215 for the most complete discussion of the origin of this formula.

verb, while in Oscan this formula can appear before or after the main verb if one exists.⁷¹ If the verb of the Gaulish formula is also < **deh*₃-,⁷² then the similarity with the Oscan formula is striking. It is possible that in both Oscan and Gaulish, a variation on this phrase was brought or inspired by Greek-speakers, and that the formula reached its different fixed forms at a later date. Alternatively, since it is not clear in which direction this formula or a precursor of this formula has travelled, the similarity could be explained by Italic influence on the Gaulish formula, with Greek-speakers acting as a vector.⁷³

Further specifications of the circumstances of the dedication are not common. We have several inscriptions that indicate that they were done in the magistracy of the main dedicator, and at the command of the senate. The wording of these inscriptions is similar to the wording of non-dedicatory inscriptions put up at public expense. It is possible that Lu 23 and 24, which include the word(s) σακαρακιδιμαι, may also be specifying the position of the dedicator or indicating the date when the inscription was set up. This word probably names a priesthood rather than a magistracy, but the meaning of the word is not clear. In Lu 13 (see below), there may be some adverbs, such as ‘piously’, explaining the manner in which the dedication was set up. Lu 29 (also see below) may have additional details of this kind, but the inscription is ill-understood at present.

Texts

Lu 5 (Potentia 1)

Transcription

vacat

1. ἡγρενσ. πωμπονισ
 ἡγip. λωγκ. ποκιδ. φα
 κενσορταττι. πωμφοκ
 σεγονω. αιζνω. ρεγο

⁷¹ Poccetti 2009c: 66.

⁷² It could in principle also be from < **d^heh*₁-. Mullen 2008: 256, 261.

⁷³ Mullen 2008: 258; Mullen 2013: 213–14.

Dedicatory inscriptions

5. πσανω. ειν. σταφαλανο
 σενατῆισ. ανγινοτ. αφαματετ
 ειζιδομ. πρωφατεδ. κωσιτ
 NH<H>HΔΠ
 vacat

Translation

Heirens-NOM. Pomponis-NOM.
 Heirens-GEN. Luvkis-GEN. Pokidiis-GEN. Varis-GEN.
 censorship-DAT.SING. *pomfok*-?
 statue-ACC.PL. bronze-ACC.PL. kings-GEN.PL.

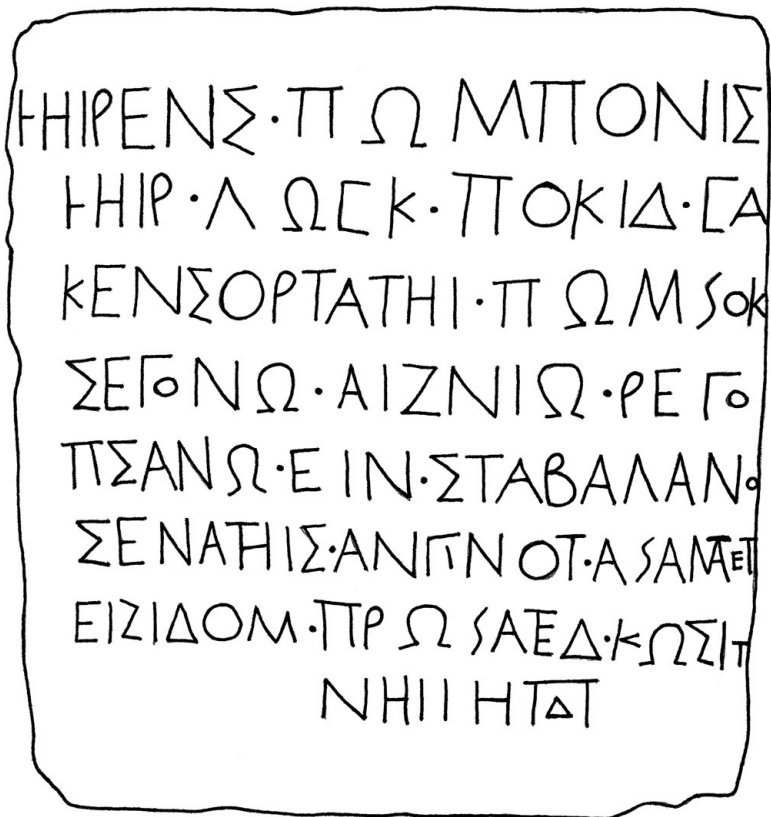


Figure 9 Lu 5 (Potentia 1). Museo Archeologico Nazionale della
 Basilicata. Author's drawing

make-GDV.ACC.PL.NEUT. and. put-up-GDV.ACC.PL.NEUT.
 senate-GEN.SING. decision-ABL.SING. order-3.SING.PERF
 same-NOM.SING.MASC. approve-3.SING.PERF. cost-3.SING.PRES?
n(ummos) HHH PD

Heirens Pomponis, son of Heirens, in the *pomfok?* censorship of Luvkis Pokidiis, son of Varis, ordered bronze statues of the kings to be made and put up by decision of the senate. The same man approved (them). It cost 350 *nummi*.

This dedication follows a pattern typical of many Oscan inscriptions put up by magistrates on behalf of the wider community. It is thought to be among the latest of the dedicatory inscriptions of Rossano di Vaglio, and is dated to around 125–100 BC.⁷⁴ We have already seen in [Chapter 3](#) that this inscription follows typical Oscan spellings of <πσ>, in (ω)πσανω and <νγ> in (τ)ανγινοτ, but that it also uses the more unusual <ζ> for /s/ when voiced between vowels in αιζνιω and ειζιδομ. I have also already discussed the use of for /f/ in σταβαλανο. The epigraphy of the inscription suggests that the late date is probably correct, though this is not certain.

The stone was found intact in the course of excavations in September 1971 in the south corner of the central court, surrounded by debris. The inscription is written on a hard limestone slab measuring 0.76 high by 0.67 wide (at the top) to 0.70 wide (at the bottom) by 0.23 deep. On the top surface there are holes and trenches in the stone. Those on the left still have evidence of metal fixings, which indicate that this stone was attached to another. The other stone was probably a statue base, which bore the bronze statues mentioned by the inscription.⁷⁵

Although the inscription is clearly an officially sanctioned text, the stonecutter has made a number of errors. He misses out several letters, including at the beginning of words: (ω)πσανω (line 5) and (τ)ανγινοτ (line 6). Crawford suggests that the first letter of (ω)πσανω is omitted because of elision with the final /-o/ of the preceding line, though it is hard to

⁷⁴ Crawford 2011b: 1364.

⁷⁵ Lejeune 1971: 667.

find a similar justification for (τ)ανγινοτ.⁷⁶ Possibly the <τα> of (τ)ανγινοτ was painted in ligature.⁷⁷

The text shows indentation of lines 2 and following. This kind of strategy is also found in official texts of around the same period in Campania, for example in Po 3 (Pompei 24).⁷⁸ However, in this case it seems to have caused the writer to run out of room at the ends of several of the lines, so that the letters at the ends of the lines have been cut smaller and in ligature.

The most problematic word in the inscription is πωμφοκ (line 3). Campanile does not explain this word, while Marchese sees it either as a title of the dedicator (**quinquifex*) or as a qualification of the censorship (**quinquifeci*), making the meaning ‘in the quinquennial censorship of Luc. Pocidius’.⁷⁹ Poccetti agrees with the second of Marchese’s propositions, as do Morandi and Crawford more hesitantly.⁸⁰ Lejeune was uncomfortable with these interpretations.⁸¹ He suggested instead that because of its placement πωμφοκ should indicate in what manner Pomponis was acting as censor in place of Pokidiis. Therefore he gives it a meaning broadly equivalent to Latin *suffectus*, or ‘substituted’.⁸²

There are possible explanations for the position of πωμφοκ without necessarily having to resort to the different meaning suggested by Lejeune. First, that one of the titles (*pomfok*-) was deliberately postponed so that the two titles appeared together.

⁷⁶ Crawford 2011b: 1365. ⁷⁷ Crawford 2011b: 1365.

⁷⁸ McDonald 2012b: 7.

⁷⁹ Campanile and Letta 1979: 26; Marchese 1974: 412. Seeing λωφκ. ποκιδ. φα. κενσορ-ταττη as a date is supported by the abbreviation of the first and second elements of the name. There is no example in South Oscan of a dedicator abbreviating either his praenomen or gentilicium in a dedicatory inscription. In this, South Oscan epigraphy differs from Central Oscan, where the abbreviation of the praenomen is more widespread, although not always used in dedicatory inscriptions.

⁸⁰ Poccetti 1979: 128; Morandi 1982: 139.

⁸¹ Lejeune 1971: 672. He raises two objections: ‘dans une rédaction aussi minutieuse et détaillée que celle de notre procès-verbal, donnant jusqu’au prix précis de l’opération, il serait bien étrange que le magistrat qui met en oeuvre les décisions du sénat ne donne pas son titre... et si le titre était l’obscur πωμφοκ(ος), il devrait suivre immédiatement le nom du dédicant sans en être séparé par une indication de date.’ Lejeune 1990: 38.

⁸² Lejeune 1971: 673. He suggests a parallel with Latin *po*- or *post*- for the first element, and with Oscan *praefucus* (Lu 1) for the second element.

Or, the title *pomfok-* could have been inadvertently left out of the dedicator's name and added in later when the stonecutter realised his mistake. The meaning of this word remains unresolved.

The interpretation of the word $\rho\epsilon\gamma\omicron$ (line 4), often expanded to the genitive plural *rego(m)*, has given rise to wider arguments about the level of Hellenisation at Rossano. Lejeune states that the language, political institutions and religion of Rossano had been under 'quasi-nulle influence grecque, alors qu'était largement hellénisée la civilisation matérielle et intellectuelle (écriture)'.⁸³ He came to this view because of the lack of Greek deities at Rossano, in contrast with, for example, the number of Greek gods named in the Agnone tablet. Prodocimi, on the other hand, saw more Greek influence than Lejeune: specifically in the terms $\delta\iota\omicron\mu\alpha\nu\alpha\varsigma$ (Lu 7), $\delta\epsilon\kappa\mu\alpha\varsigma$ (Lu 22) and $\rho\epsilon\gamma\omicron(\mu)$, all of which he believed to be calqued or borrowed from Greek deities and institutions.⁸⁴

There are two competing explanations of the term, both assuming a connection to Latin *rex* (gen. pl. **rēgōm*).⁸⁵ Lejeune's original suggestion was that it could stand for *regis reginaeque*, 'of the king and queen', the king and queen in question being Jupiter and Mefitis.⁸⁶ Prodocimi, on the other hand, suggested that this could be a calque on the Spartan expression $\varphi\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\kappa\epsilon(\varsigma)$, a name for the Dioscuri (Castor and Pollux), which could have existed at the Spartan city of Taras.⁸⁷ He further argued that, even if Lejeune's interpretation was correct, the idea of a divine couple would nevertheless be evidence of the influence of the Greek pantheon.⁸⁸ Guzzo has also explored the possibility that the inscription refers to real kings.⁸⁹

The only way to answer this question conclusively would be to find the statues to which the word refers. Given that the Dioscuri are mentioned nowhere else at Rossano, the

⁸³ Lejeune 1990: 53. ⁸⁴ Prodocimi 1976: 831–3. ⁸⁵ Untermann 2000: 632.

⁸⁶ The substitution of the masculine plural for a masculine/feminine pair is paralleled in Latin. E.g. *reges* for *rex reginaeque* (Livy 1.39.2), *fratres* for *frater sororque* (Tac. Ann. 12.4). Lejeune 1971: 674.

⁸⁷ Prodocimi 1976: 831. ⁸⁸ Prodocimi 1976: 832. ⁸⁹ Guzzo 1983.

translation ‘Jupiter and Mefitis’ seems the most plausible. However, the appearance of Greek-language inscriptions at Rossano suggests that Lejeune overemphasised the independence of Rossano from the Greek-speaking world.

Lu 5 also gives us some of our only evidence for the use of Greek numerals in South Oscan. Line 8 gives the cost of the dedication, a literal transcription of which would be <NHHHΔΠ>.⁹⁰ Del Tutto Palma notes that the space between the second and third <H> is slightly larger than between the first and second, and so that this might be two prices for two different objects.⁹¹ Here, I accept the reading NHHHΔΠ, probably representing ‘350 N’. No other Oscan-language dedications carry an indication of cost, though many Greek inscriptions do.⁹²

The letter <N> is probably an abbreviation for *nummi*, as in the Tabula Bantina, but it is not known whether this has been borrowed as a generic term for money or as the name of a specific denomination. The Latin *nummus* and the Umbrian *numer* are borrowed from Sicilian or South Italian Greek νόμος (‘coin, money’), a term also found in the Tabulae Heracleenses.⁹³ This inscription may therefore have borrowed the term directly from Greek. The letters that follow appear to be Greek acrophonic numerals – H for *hekatón* (100), P for *pente* (5), D for *dekaton* (10). These were still in use in Greek inscriptions at this time, though they were soon to be replaced by alphabetic numerals. Even the method of multiplication to get 50 follows the Greek practice: the symbol for five with a small version of the applicable power of ten, although normally this would be written with the delta attached to the top hasta of the pi. The use of Greek numerals is a significant difference in practice from the near-contemporary Tabula Bantina, which uses Roman numerals.

⁹⁰ James Clackson has suggested that the cross bar of the first H is unclear, and therefore a better reading may be NHHHΔΠ (HHHH = 400?) (James Clackson, personal communication).

⁹¹ For her text and translation: Del Tutto Palma 1990: 108–15.

⁹² The purpose of the numeral <II> on the ceramic spool Lu 26 is not known, but perhaps indicates that it was the second of two offerings made to Hercules. Crawford 2011b: 1310.

⁹³ Poccetti 2012: 67.

Note that in the rest of the inscription, the sign for /h/ is <H>, while in the acrophonic numerals it is <H>, which elsewhere in the inscription = /ē/.

We can speculate on what 350 *nummi* might have represented in terms of buying power. The Tabula Bantina, also from Lucania in around the same period, assigns fines of two thousand and one thousand *nummi*, with the implication that this could be a substantial proportion of a man's property.⁹⁴ The sum of 350 *nummi* would seem, therefore, to represent a significant outlay, probably the cost of both the bronze statues and the inscription itself.

Lu 13 (Potentia 40)

Transcription

- I. κλοφας γαυκιεσ φατ[οφ]οι δι-
οφιοι μετσεδ πεηε-
δ φλουσοι· αφακειτ
αυτι· φατοφε κλο-
5. φατηισ πλαμετοδ

Translation

Klovaz-NOM. Gaukiis-NOM. Fatuus-DAT.
belonging-to-Jove-DAT.SING. *metsed*-ADV. piously-ADV.
flousoi-DAT? dedicated-3.SING.PERF.
but. Fatuus-VOC. Klovaz-GEN.
plametod-3.SING.IMP.

Klovaz Gaukiis (this altar) to Jovian Fatuus justly, piously, for Florus, has dedicated. But O Fatuus, remember (the altar) of Klovaz.

The inscription is carved on the front surface of an altar found on the border of the countryside between Tricarico and Albano, in the area of Rocchetto or Piano della Civita.⁹⁵ It is 0.75 high, 0.525 wide across the epigraphic field and 0.435 deep. The forms of the letters are very unusual, and there has been debate on which of the small circles are interpuncts and which

⁹⁴ Tabula Bantina: 12, 26. 'The fine should be 2,000 (or 1,000) *nummi*, and if the magistrate wishes to fine more it is allowed as long as it is less than half of his property.' On this basis, 2,000 *nummi* does not sound like it represents a trifling amount.

⁹⁵ Vetter 1953: 120.

stand for /o/.⁹⁶ While Ribezzo's reading preferred an interpunct in <ῑλουσοι. αῤακειτ> and <πλαμετ. δ>, Vetter and Rix interpret the small circles as <O> in all cases.⁹⁷ While most of the forms with <O> are unproblematic, this reading also gives us <ῑλουσοιο> and <ο ἄτοφε>.

The second of these is of particular interest here, since it could be the only example of the vocative of a god's name in this corpus. In lines 4–5, we appear to have the name of the dedicator again in the genitive, referring to something belonging to Klovaz, maybe the altar itself.⁹⁸ The final word πλαμε-τοδ appears to be an imperative in *-tōd. This strongly suggests that ἄτοφε is a vocative of the god's name, rather than a locative as suggested by Vetter, since the imperative implies a direct address to the deity.⁹⁹ The meaning is not affected by whether or not the sign before ἄτοφε is an <O> or an interpunct. However, if it is <O>, then we have a unique example of direct address with the vocative particle 'O' in Oscan, cf. Latin ō, Greek ὦ, ὦ. The use of the vocative and the imperative may represent part of the dedication ritual which was spoken aloud but not normally recorded in the written inscription.

We know from other kinds of sources that O + imperative was used in Latin and Greek to address and invoke the gods. In Greek, gods could be addressed directly by a vocative of their name, epithet or a general term such as θεοί.¹⁰⁰ The use of the vocative of the god's name in dedicatory inscriptions is quite rare in the Greek-speaking world, though it is by no means unknown.¹⁰¹ There are examples in Greek of honorifics standing alone in the vocative, e.g. *CEG* 268, 275, 334, and imperatives asking particular favours such as χάριν ἀντιδίδου, 'give a favour in return'.¹⁰² These direct addresses

⁹⁶ Ribezzo 1924: 89–92; Vetter 1953 no. 183; Lejeune 1966: 177; Rix 1993; Crawford 2011b: 1424–6. For an image, see Crawford.

⁹⁷ Ribezzo 1924: 90; Vetter 1953 no. 183; Rix 1993: 194. ⁹⁸ Rix 1993: 195.

⁹⁹ Lejeune 1966: 178; Rix 1993: 192. The locative would probably be written -ει (<*-ey>). N. Zair, personal communication.

¹⁰⁰ Dickey 1996: 187.

¹⁰¹ E.g. *CEG* 227, 235, 275, 334 (both dative and vocative), 367, 375, 418.

¹⁰² Day 2010: 150.



Figure 10 Lu 29 (Potentia 21). Photograph provided by M. Crawford

establish a direct relationship with the god, but also conjure up the god's presence for the reader.¹⁰³ The imperative or vocative could also serve to re-enact the original rite of dedication when the inscription was read out by future viewers.¹⁰⁴

Whether or not the small circles are interpreted as <O> or an interpunct also affects the word *φλουσοι* or *φλουσοιο*. If the final character is an interpunct, then the word is dative, which suggests another divine name (Florus) or a personal name.¹⁰⁵ If the word is read as *φλουσοιο*, then it would be a neuter plural, which Rix suggests means 'first-fruits', and names the type of offering which was given.¹⁰⁶ Overall, the interpretation as a dative is probably to be preferred.

¹⁰³ Depew 2000: 67. ¹⁰⁴ Furley 2010: 154.

¹⁰⁵ Crawford 2011b: 1426; Rix 1993: 194.

¹⁰⁶ Rix 1993: 194; Crawford 2011b: 1426.

Dedicatory inscriptions

Lu 29 (Potentia 21)

Transcription

[-?-]αματομ
[-?-]υξ κηομοι
[-?-]μψδοι μεφι
[-?-] *vacat*
vacat

Lejeune edition

[-?-]αματομ
[-?- απεξ]υξκ ηομοι
[ενε]μ υδοι μεφι-
[τιαισ] *vacat*
vacat

ST/Imagines

[-?- αf]αματομ
[-?-]υξ κηομοι
[-?- νυ]μψδοι μεφι-
[τανοι] *vacat*
vacat

Translation (from Lejeune edition)

?consecrated-PERF.PART.ACC.SING.MASC.
hence-ADV. earth-DAT?.SING.
and. water-DAT?.SING.
belonging-to-Mefitis-DAT.PL.FEM.

... has been ordered
... hence(forth) on the ground
and in the water
for the Mefitians.

Translation (from Imagines)

?order-PERF.PART.ACC.SING.MASC.
-ux-? ?burial mound-?
Numpsdos-DAT. belonging-to-Mefitis-DAT.

... has been ordered
... ? for the ?burial mound
... for the companion of Mefitis.

Lu 29 is written on a grey sandstone block, 0.54 high, 0.62 wide and 0.30 deep, broken on the left-hand side. It was found re-used as the base of a votive column. It has been dated variously to 325–300 BC (Lejeune) and 250–200 BC (Crawford),

but there is little reason to see either of these dates as conclusive. This text is problematic, in part because of the difficulty in reading some of the letters, but mainly because of the lack of agreement in the scholarship about the word division. For this reason, I have provided both Lejeune's edition and Rix's edition, which is followed by Crawford.

The word division and interpretation of this text is relevant to Greek contact because of the sequence <κh> in line 2, already discussed in [Chapter 3](#). Lejeune states that the only possible solution was to put a word division between these two letters, on the grounds that /kh/ is not a possible sequence in Oscan.¹⁰⁷ This then leaves -υξκ in the previous word, which Lejeune interprets as *απεξυκ, cf. Latin *abhinc*, written in error as *απεξυξκ.¹⁰⁸ The next word he identifies as ἡμοι, cf. Latin *humi*, forming a phrase ἡμοι [ενε]μ υδοι, 'earth and water'.¹⁰⁹ One justification for this conjecture is that cults relating to water are well documented in Italian archaeology, particularly in relation to Mefitis.¹¹⁰ However, a number of problems have arisen with this interpretation.

First, Lejeune's text identifies the second character of line three as <υ> rather than <ψ>.¹¹¹ This would be a completely unique form of upsilon in the corpus.¹¹² A consensus now seems to have been reached that this character is a psi, and it refers to the deity also found in Potentia 18 and Lu 28 (Potentia 20).¹¹³ Second, there is no longer strong opposition to the use of <κh> in one word. If <κh> is the beginning of the word, then we have a word κημοι, which Del Tutto Palma compares to Greek χῶμα or χεῦμα, 'earthworks, burial mound'.¹¹⁴ Crawford does not commit himself to a meaning for this word, though he does accept Del Tutto Palma's word division.¹¹⁵ If this new interpretation is correct, then we have an example here of lexical borrowing from Greek, in which the aspirate pronunciation is maintained by writing stop + <h>. The borrowing of the

¹⁰⁷ Lejeune 1990: 41. ¹⁰⁸ Lejeune 1990: 41. ¹⁰⁹ Lejeune 1990: 41.

¹¹⁰ Del Tutto Palma 1987: 368. ¹¹¹ Lejeune 1990: 19.

¹¹² Del Tutto Palma 1991: 181.

¹¹³ Del Tutto Palma 1991: 184; Rix 2002: 129; Crawford 2011b: 1398.

¹¹⁴ Del Tutto Palma 1987: 371. ¹¹⁵ Crawford 2011b: 1398.

Dedicatory inscriptions

word may have gone along with the borrowing of a practice or object, such as a particular type of Greek-style earthworks.

Lu 23 (Crimisa 1)

Transcription

Text A (Greek)

ΕΠΙ ΙΕΡ(ΕΩΣ)

Text B (Oscan)

σακαρακιδι-

μαι πακτη-

ισ ερουκτης

πακτης

Translation

Text A (Greek)

In the priesthood

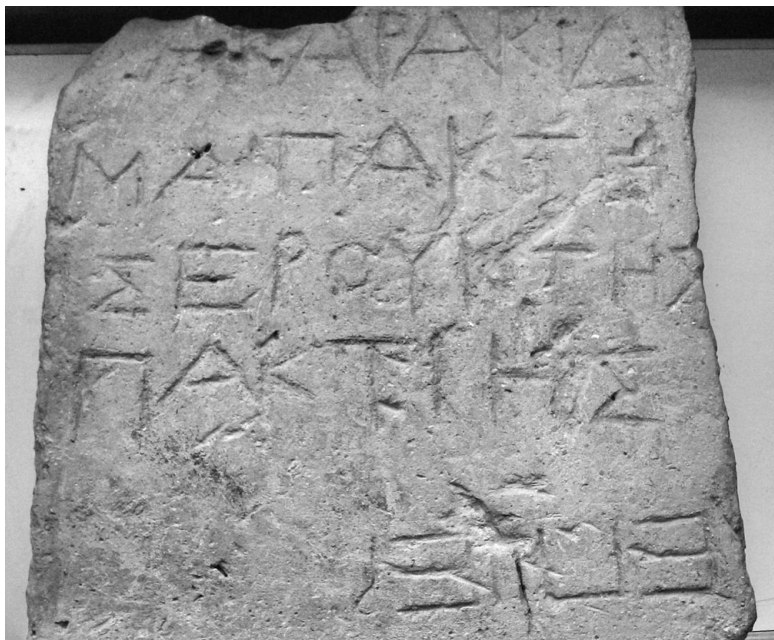


Figure 11 Lu 23 (Crimisa 1). Author's photo 19/09/2014. Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Reggio Calabria

Text B (Oscan)
 priesthood-LOC.SING.
 ?Paktis-GEN.
 ?Eruktis-GEN.
 ?Paktis-GEN.

In the priesthood of Paktis Eruktis son of Paktis. (names uncertain)

The inscription Lu 23 has been discussed a great deal in relation to the orthography of the personal names.¹¹⁶ This orthography may relate to a regional variant of the genitive rather than inaccuracy, but there is not space to discuss these issues here in detail.¹¹⁷ This brick, dated to 300–200 BC, is of interest here because it seems to show two separate texts: an Oscan dedication and the beginning of a Greek text reading $\epsilon\pi\iota\ \iota\epsilon\rho$, understood as $\epsilon\pi\iota\ \iota\epsilon\rho(\epsilon\omega\varsigma)$ ‘in the priesthood (of X)’.¹¹⁸ Because the Greek text is upside-down with respect to the Oscan, it is likely that the Greek text was started but then abandoned, and the brick was re-used for the Oscan text.¹¹⁹ Both texts were scratched after firing. It is nevertheless tempting to think that there might be some connection between the two texts, since it is possible that the first word of the Oscan text, $\sigma\alpha\kappa\alpha\rho\alpha\kappa\iota\delta\iota\mu\alpha\iota$, is a locative noun also meaning ‘in the priesthood’.¹²⁰ However, there is still some debate about the word division here.¹²¹ If these texts were written at the same site at around the same time then they show the use of both Greek and Oscan for dedication texts, but it is difficult to know how much time passed between the two.

Lu 39 (Anxia I)

Transcription

I. $\pi\omega\tau\ \phi\omicron\lambda$ -
 $\lambda\omicron\eta\omega\mu.$ $\sigma\omicron\rho\omicron$ -
 $\phi\omega\mu\ \epsilon\iota\nu\ \kappa\alpha\pi\tau\iota\delta\iota\tau$ -
 $\omega\mu.$ $\kappa\alpha\eta\alpha\sigma\ \lambda\epsilon\iota\kappa\epsilon\iota\tau\ \kappa\omega$ -

¹¹⁶ De Franciscis and Parlangeli 1960: 14–15; 23–4; Prosdocimi 1980: 612–13; Antonini 1981: 348; La Regina 2002: 65–7; Crawford 2011b: 1468–9.

¹¹⁷ Rix 1996: 246–7.

¹¹⁸ Cf. the same dating formula elsewhere in Italy: *IG* XIV 2393 95, 149, 377, 480a, 487, 512, 519 (Tarentum); *SEG* 46:1305 12 (Aquila; mid-second century BC).

¹¹⁹ Crawford 2011b: 1468. ¹²⁰ Poccetti 1988: 112–17.

¹²¹ Untermann 2000: 644.

Dedicatory inscriptions

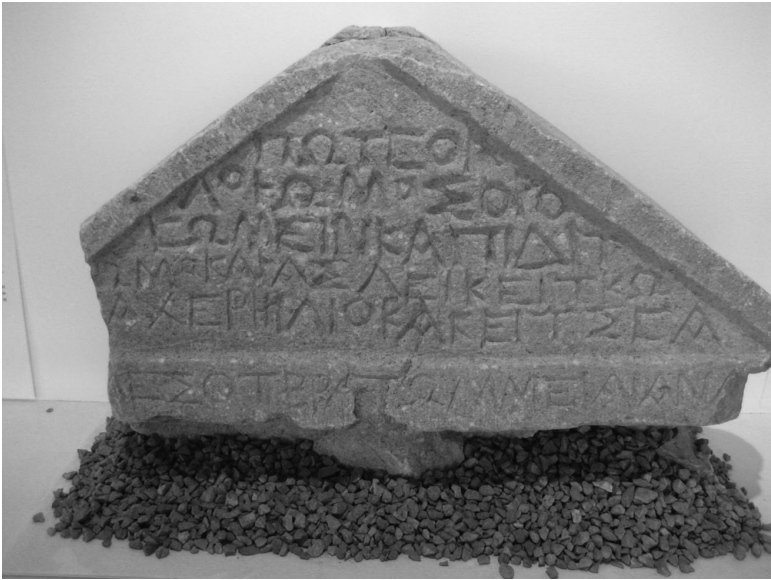


Figure 12 Lu 39 (Anxia 1). Photograph provided by N. Zair. Museo Archeologico Provinciale, Potenza

5. [-?-)αχερηι λιοκακειτ σφα-
[-?-)μ εσοτ βρατωμ μειαι ανα[-?-]

Reconstruction: Imagines

1. πωτ φολ-
λοηωμ. σορο-
φωμ ειν(ειμ) καπιδιδιτ-
ωμ. καθασ λεικειτ κω-
5. [ρο μ]αχερηι λιο{κα}κειτ σφα-
[ι τιω]μ εσοτ βρατωμ μειαι ανα[φακ-]

Reconstruction: ST

1. πωτ φολ-
λοηωμ. σορο-
φωμ ειν(ειμ) καπιδιδιτ-
ωμ. καθασ λεικειτ κω-
5. μ αχερηι λιοκακειτ σφα-
[ι τιω]μ εσοτ βρατωμ μεια{ια}να[σ]

Despite its length and the relative clarity of the letter-forms, this inscription is very ill-understood, and its genre is not

known. Enough of the vocabulary is unknown that it is difficult to attempt a translation.¹²² The text is written on a damaged limestone pediment, originally of dimensions 0.37 high, 0.875 wide at the base (now damaged on both sides) and 0.1475 thick. Underneath the pediment there are traces of the panel beneath, which Crawford says preserves the tops of three carved heads.¹²³ The form of the inscription is unlike any other dedicatory inscription, and if there are indeed traces of three heads then the object itself seems to fall squarely within our expectations of funerary inscriptions. However, there are several potential problems with this. First, the text is much longer than any other surviving South Oscan funerary inscription. Second, depending on the interpretation and reconstruction of the text, it may not contain a personal name, something which features in all other funerary texts. Third, one of the few clearly identifiable words is $\beta\rho\alpha\tau\omega\mu$ which, as we have seen above, is tied closely to Oscan dedicatory formulae.

We have only two South Oscan funerary inscriptions, both of which are very short, consisting mainly of a personal name (see [Chapter 7](#)). For the inscription Lu 39 to contain a personal name, we would need to accept Crawford's reconstruction $[\mu]\alpha\chi\epsilon\rho\eta$, and accept this as a spelling of an Oscan personal name. We would also have to accept $\kappa\omega\rho\sigma$ = '(grave)stone', cf. **kúru** Sa 31 (Saepinum 2), but it is not clear that there would have been space on the stone for this part of Crawford's reconstruction, or that **kúru** was used to mean 'gravestone' in Oscan. In Sa 10, 11 and 12 (Teruentum 16, 15, 17) it is used to refer to stone basins; in Sa 31 (Saepinum 2), it refers to a small oval-shaped stone.¹²⁴ The word **qora** is, however, used to refer to funerary monuments in South Picene.¹²⁵

There also appears to be vocabulary in Lu 39 which ties it to the dedicatory formulae outlined above. The word $\beta\rho\alpha\tau\omega\mu$ corresponds to the word for 'grace' found in the formula

¹²² See Crawford 2011b: 1434 for one tentative possibility.

¹²³ Crawford 2011b: 1433.

¹²⁴ Crawford 2011b: 1132.

¹²⁵ Sp TE 7 (Interamnia Praetutturum 3); Sp AQ 2 (Aufinum 1); Sp CH 1 (Anxanum 1).

Dedicatory inscriptions

brateis datas, but in the accusative. This has led some scholars to believe that this inscription is dedicatory rather than funerary.¹²⁶ Similarly, Crawford reconstructs ἀνα[ῥακ-] in line 6. This suggests a meaning ‘dedicate this grace to my (X)’. If ἀναῥακετ is a specialised verb of dedicating (see above), then it is strange to reconstruct it here unless this is also a dedicatory inscription. However, the evidence of ἀναῥακετ and its variants is limited. We have only two (or possibly three) instances of this verb in a dedicatory context, and so we cannot say categorically that it was excluded from all other genres. It is therefore possible for this to be a funerary inscription which includes some language more reminiscent of dedicatory inscriptions.

Potentia 29

Transcription

ΛΕΥΚΙΟΣ [δ]ΕΚΚΙΟ[ς]

Translation

Luvkis Dekkiis

This short inscription on a fragment of a stone block, dated to the third century, shows a two-part name of Oscan origin written with Greek morphological endings. It also shows the Greek spelling of the name Luvkis with λευ- instead of South Oscan λοϝ- or λωϝ-. As such, we can take this as a Greek-language inscription. Finding Greek endings on Oscan names is a phenomenon we find elsewhere, such as in the cuirass of Novios Bannios mentioned above, and the official inscription *Potentia 39* discussed in [Chapter 1](#). However, dedications of Greek-language inscriptions are rare at Rossano.

Given the number of Oscan-language inscriptions at the site, it seems unlikely that this inscription came about because of a shortage of Oscan-speaking stonecutters. It is more likely that the form of the inscription was the choice of the dedicator, though we do not know why he had a preference for Greek endings on his name. As with the magistrate Nummelos who commissioned *Potentia 39* at nearby Serra di Vaglio,

¹²⁶ E. Dupraz, personal communication.

this choice may reflect Luvkis's preferred spoken language, or a more complicated value judgement about the status and prestige of Greek.

Conclusions

We have seen in this chapter that there are a number of elements in South Oscan dedications which show possible influence from Greek, sometimes above the level of Greek influence further north. We have also seen that this influence usually involves adaptations rather than direct reproductions of Greek dedicatory language. We have already seen in [Chapter 3](#) that some dedications have epigraphic characteristics that seem to be derived from borrowing. For example, the use of Greek characters such as chi, zeta and the combination <kh> show an awareness of Greek language and epigraphy. The use of Greek acrophonic numerals and the adaptation of practices to record the costs of inscriptions and dedications also suggest influence from the Greek-speaking world. The use of Greek and Oscan at the same sites and periods, such as at Rossano and Crimisa, reflects bilingualism in those areas.

But the interaction with Greek is not just epigraphic: it is also linguistic and cultural. In a number of instances, we have seen the borrowing or calquing of words, such as κημοί 'mound' and possibly ἀναφέρει 'dedicated', that indicate not just Greek influence on the Oscan lexicon but also influence on religious practice. Even the formula *brateis datas*, which has parallels in Greek-influenced Gaulish, may indicate some particular aspect of religious behaviour. The types of objects dedicated in Southern Italy, such as helmets, may also be influenced by the Greek-speaking world. In some cases the preferences of South Oscan writers, such as the higher proportion of divine names in cases other than the dative, may show either a local tradition developed for other reasons, or a coincidental pattern in a small corpus.

Many examples of possible contact phenomena are found in one or two inscriptions only. This might lead us to believe that borrowing and adaptation from Greek were only done

Dedicatory inscriptions

on an individual basis. However, taken as a whole, the corpus of dedicatory inscriptions shows the level to which Greek language and epigraphy had impacted on the dedicatory practices of Oscan-speakers. Considering that religious inscriptions are often quite conservative, the evidence from this genre suggests a sustained level of interaction between Oscan- and Greek-speakers, which may have been felt more profoundly in Lucania, Bruttium and Sicily than in the areas further north.

CURSE TABLETS

The South Oscan curse tablets are some of the most recently discovered Oscan texts. By the year 2000, the number of Oscan curse tablets had doubled since Vetter published his *Handbuch* in 1953, and many of these new texts came from Lucania and Bruttium.¹ The eight South Oscan curse tablets now outnumber the six examples written in the Central Oscan alphabet, and the corpus looks likely to grow further, since a number of lead tablets from South Oscan sites have not yet been unrolled.²

The discovery of South Oscan curse tablets has radically changed the amount of evidence we have for language contact in the region. Out of all of the Oscan inscriptions written in the Greek alphabet, these are the texts that give us the clearest evidence of ongoing contact with Greek. Curse tablets may also show the written language of a wider range of the population than official or legal texts, though this assumption should be treated very carefully. Curse tablets are also important to our understanding of the South Oscan area because they give us a huge amount of onomastic material: around 50 per cent of all the names attested in South Oscan are found in curses.³

The most popular and widely applicable definition of curse tablets is by Jordan: ‘*Defixiones*, more commonly known as curse tablets, are inscribed pieces of lead or lead alloy, usually in the form of small, thin sheets, intended to influence, by supernatural means, the actions or welfare of persons or animals against their will’.⁴ There are over a thousand surviving curse

¹ Poccetti 2000: 766.

² Poccetti and Gualtieri 1990: 139–40; Crawford 2011b: 1334.

³ McDonald 2012a: 45.

⁴ Jordan 1985: 151; Ogden 1999: 3. Ogden points out that ‘by supernatural means’ could perhaps be omitted from this definition, depending on how curse tablets were

tablets from the ancient world, or as many as 1,500 if examples written on materials other than lead are included.⁵ The oldest are found in Sicily and Attica, dating to the sixth and fifth centuries, and are written in Greek.⁶ From the second half of the fourth century, curse tablets start to appear in other languages, including Oscan.⁷ We know, from the essential continuity of the form and the formulae, that Greek curse tablets were the direct model for Oscan curse tablets.⁸

Most of the earliest tablets written in Greek give only the name(s) of the target. Where a deity is mentioned, it is usually Hermes or Persephone.⁹ It is possible that the curse or binding spell was originally said aloud, and the spoken portions of the cursing ritual slowly came to be written alongside the names later.¹⁰ Generally, the majority of Latin and Greek examples refer to ‘binding’ the victim, rather than to physical harm. The language of the texts can be divided into three basic types, though one tablet may show a combination of elements. These types are: performative, with a first-person verb (‘I bind X’); declarative, with a third-person verb (‘this curse binds X’); and wishes or commands with an invocation to some kind of agent (‘Hermes/Hekate/spirits, come and bind X’).¹¹ In the third category, the requests may be written in the

regarded in the ancient world. There are several terms for texts written on lead tablets which target individuals for some kind of punishment. Often, they are called *defixiones* or *katadesmoi* (sing. *defixio*; *katadesmos*). These terms are derived from the ‘verbs of binding’ in texts in Latin and Greek respectively, and the terms used in literary sources to refer to ‘binding spells’ (e.g. Plato, *Republic* 2.364b; *Laws* 10.909a, Pliny, *NH* 28.4; Tac. *Ann.* 2.69; Cic. *Brutus* 217), though we do not know what term would have been given to the tablets themselves. The term *defixiones* is often extended to examples in all languages. However, the use of the term *defixio* for Oscan texts may be misleading, since the Latin tradition shows a number of developments not found in the other languages of Italy, such as the nonsense words known as *voces mysticae*, the use of drawings, and more extensive curse formulae. Some tablets that seek the return of stolen goods, or revenge for theft, are known as ‘prayers for justice’ or ‘judicial prayers’. These typically date to the Roman Imperial period, and so this separate category is not relevant to the Oscan examples. Here, I use the general term ‘curse tablets’.

⁵ Gager 1992: 3. ⁶ Faraone 1991: 3.

⁷ Adams 2003: 139. Latin curse tablets begin to appear in the second century BC. The earliest seems to be Kropp 1.5.4/1, from Pompeii. The earliest Etruscan example also appears to be from the second century BC (*ET Po* 4.4).

⁸ Dickie 2001: 128. ⁹ Faraone 1991: 4.

¹⁰ Faraone 1991: 4. ¹¹ Poccetti 2002: 14.

imperative, or the writer may use persuasive analogies intended to cause the victim to enter a certain state. For example, some ask that the victim become cold or useless like the lead tablet.¹²

After being written and rolled up, the tablets were usually deposited in graves, sanctuaries associated with chthonic deities or wells.¹³ It is possible that the association with graves was intended to invoke the spirits of people who had died prematurely, though this is difficult to confirm because information about the graves where curse tablets have been found is often not known or not recorded.¹⁴ Earlier tablets from the Greek world also come with lead or wax dolls, sometimes pierced with pins, and some figurines found at the Kerameikos in Athens from c. 400 BC were shut into miniature coffins.¹⁵

The language of curse tablets can be very unlike the language of other genres of inscriptions. Some tablets show various strategies for obfuscation, probably as a way of increasing the magical potency of the text by removing it from everyday human language.¹⁶ This fits with the cross-cultural tendency to make ritual and magical language distinct from ordinary language by the use of marked forms.¹⁷ In some curse tablets, the names of the targets are scrambled, or the text is written retrograde long after this direction of writing had fallen out of regular use.¹⁸ Some texts also switch the direction of writing, change the order of syllables within a word, or reverse the order of letters within each syllable, e.g. ναϊταμοχς for αντιμαχος.¹⁹ Sometimes the direction of writing is even used as a representation of the ‘reversal’ of the activities of the victim: DTA 67 asks that the victim’s words be made cold and ἐπ’ ἀριστερᾶ ‘reversed’, like the words of the curse.²⁰ As we will see,

¹² Kropp 2010: 367–8. ¹³ Jordan 1985: 152; Jordan and Curbera 1998: 31.

¹⁴ Jordan 1985: 152. ¹⁵ Gager 1992: 15. ¹⁶ Adams 2003: 128.

¹⁷ Blom 2012: 124. I use the word ‘magical’ in this chapter to refer to the language of curse tablets, on the understanding that the boundaries between religion, magic and medicine were blurred and complicated. The less value-laden term ‘ritual language’ is not specific enough, and does not make clear that there are particular usages found in curse tablets but not in dedications, funerary inscriptions and other texts associated with rituals.

¹⁸ Jordan and Curbera 1998: 33. ¹⁹ Poccetti 2002: 48.

²⁰ Poccetti 2002: 41; Faraone and Kropp 2010: 382.

features from more than one language may also be combined to create a mixed language. With a few exceptions, mystical nonsense words, sometimes referred to as *voces mysticae*, are not used until the Roman Imperial period.²¹

Because of their unusual manipulation of language, linguistic evidence derived from curse tablets should be used with care. It is tempting to see curse tablets as closer to everyday speech than formulaic official inscriptions because they sometimes appear to be written more spontaneously or by individuals with lower literacy levels. For example, Lambert states that curse tablets ‘betray the *language and the concerns of common people*’ (original emphasis).²² This continues to be a common belief in the scholarship on curse tablets.²³

However, there is not necessarily a closer than usual connection between the language of curse tablets and the spoken language of the non-elite. Curse tablets are not less prone to being formulaic than official, religious or funerary inscriptions; in fact, the practice was controlled by tradition and convention, and texts were often copied from handbooks.²⁴ Their execution represents a large range of competencies, from very large, awkward letters to apparently professional handwriting.²⁵ Comments by Plato also suggest that professionals were involved in the production of curse tablets in Greece from an early period.²⁶ There is also evidence that some curse tablets stuck to the written norms of their times reasonably closely.²⁷ Where aspects of spoken language are represented in curse tablets, these may belong to any social class, not only the non-elite.²⁸ Obfuscation is also likely to take the language of the text further away from contemporary spoken language rather than closer to it.

²¹ Gager 1992: 5. ²² Lambert 2004: 76.

²³ Gager 1992: v, ‘Unlike ancient literary texts, they are devoid of the distortions introduced by factors such as education, social class or status, and literary genres and traditions’; Poccetti 2010: 674, ‘Ils reflètent la langue parlée locale et les choix personnels des graveurs.’

²⁴ Arbabzadah 2012: 7; Clackson 2011: 37.

²⁵ In Roman Imperial times, professional scribes may have taken a larger role in production. Gager 1992: 4–5.

²⁶ Dickie 2001: 48–9. ²⁷ Arbabzadah 2012: 269.

²⁸ Curbera and Jordan 2007: 1,350.

We will see in this chapter that South Oscan curse tablets show a great deal of influence from Greek. This is not evidence of a highly bilingual or mixed spoken language among the lower classes. Rather, this evidence relates to the practices and traditions of writing curse tablets. On the one hand, the writer of a curse may be motivated to keep a traditional Greek formula, as its effectiveness may be reduced if the formula is translated or changed. On the other hand, writers of curses may use code-switching or graphic borrowings as strategies to put the language of the text at one remove from their everyday language.

Curse tablets in Italy

The use of curse tablets in Italy and Sicily originated in Greek-speaking communities and spread into non-Greek-speaking communities through cultural contact. The earliest tablets from the region are found in Sicily. Almost all of the sites where Oscan curse tablets have been found are coastal cities in Lucania, Bruttium and Campania, especially sites where both Greek and Oscan are known to have been in use such as Laos, Petelia and Cumae. The close connections between Greek, Oscan and Latin curse tablets in Italy are not often dwelt upon apart from in linguistic scholarship on the Oscan examples.²⁹ Gager mentions the use and influence of various languages other than Latin and Greek in curse texts, but does not mention Oscan.³⁰

A complete list of the curse tablets in all languages found in Italy from the sixth to the first century BC is given in [Table 17](#).³¹ The languages of curse tablets in Italy appear to change as the practice of writing curses spread northwards into new areas.

²⁹ Dickie's account of the spread of curse tablets into Italy does include Etruscan and Oscan examples, though his account is now somewhat out of date. See Dickie 2001: 128–9.

³⁰ E.g. Gager 1992: 14, 103.

³¹ This list includes all Greek and Latin examples found up to approximately 2008, all Etruscan examples listed in Rix 1991, and all Sabellian examples included in Crawford 2011b. The following corpora were used: DT Audollent; Dubois GG I; Dubois GG II; SGD; NGCT; Kropp; *Imagines*; *ET*.

Table 17 *Curse tablets in Italy*

Inscription	Date	Location	Language
DT Audollent 302	Fifth C	Cumae	Greek
SGD 122	Fifth/fourth C	Sicily or Italy	Greek
Lu 47 (Thurii Copia 1)	350–300	Thurii Copia, Bruttium	Oscan (South)
Lu 46 (Laos 2)	330–320	Laos, Lucania	Oscan (South)
Lu 45 (Buxentum 3)	Second half fourth C?	Roccagloriosa, Lucania	Oscan (South)/ (Greek)
NGCT 83	Late fourth C	Locri Epizephyrioi, Bruttium	Greek
Lu 63 (Laos 3)	c. 300	Laos, Lucania	Oscan (South)
Laos 4	c. 300	Laos, Lucania	Oscan (South)
Petelia 2	c. 300	Petelia, Bruttium	Oscan (South)/ Greek
SGD 125	Fourth/third century	Taras, Apulia	Greek
SGD 126	Fourth/third century	Taras, Apulia	Greek
NGCT 82	Fourth/third century	Teuranus Ager, Bruttium	Greek
Lu 44 (Crimisa 3)	300–250	Crimisa, Bruttium	Oscan (South)
Sa 36 (Bovianum 98)	300–200	Bovianum, Samnium	Oscan (Central)
Cp 36 (Capua 33)	300–200	Capua, Campania	Oscan (Central)
DT Audollent 212	Third C	Bruttium	Greek
SGD 123	Third C	Locri Epizephyrioi, Bruttium	Greek
SGD 124	Third C	Metapontum, Lucania	Greek
Lu 43 (Teuranus Ager 1)	Before 200	Teuranus Ager, Bruttium	Oscan (South)

Table 17 (*cont.*)

Inscription	Date	Location	Language
Cp 37 (Capua 34)	200–150	Capua, Campania	Oscan (Central)
Cm 14 (Cumae 8)	200–150	Cumae, Campania	Oscan (Central)
NGCT 81	Late second C	Rhegium, Bruttium	Greek
Kropp 1.5.4/1	Second C	Pompeii, Campania	Latin
ET Po 4.4	Second C	Populonia, Etruria	Etruscan
Kropp 1.1.3/1	Second/first C	Caere, Etruria	Latin
Cm 13 (Cumae 9)	125–50 BC	Cumae, Campania	Oscan (Central)
Cm 15 (Cumae 10)	100–50 BC	Cumae, Campania	Oscan (Central)/ Latin
Kropp 1.4.2/1 (DT Audollent 133)	First half first century	Mentana, Latium	Latin
Kropp 1.4.2/2 (DT Audollent 134)	First half first century	Mentana, Latium	Latin
Kropp 1.4.2/3 (DT Audollent 135)	First half first century	Mentana, Latium	Latin
Kropp 1.4.4/3 (DT Audollent 139)	First century	Rome, Latium	Latin
Kropp 1.4.4/8	First century	Rome, Latium	Latin
Kropp 1.4.4/9	First century	Rome, Latium	Latin
Kropp 1.4.4/10	First century	Rome, Latium	Latin
Kropp 1.4.4/11	First century	Rome, Latium	Latin
Kropp 1.4.4/12	First century	Rome, Latium	Latin
Kropp 1.7.2/1	First century	Ateste, Veneto	Latin
ET Vt 4.1	Late?	Volaterrae, Etruria	Etruscan
ET Vt 4.2	Late?	Volaterrae, Etruria	Etruscan
ET Vt 4.3	Late?	Volaterrae, Etruria	Etruscan
ET Vt 4.4	Late?	Volaterrae, Etruria	Etruscan
ET Vt 4.6	Late?	Volaterrae, Etruria	Etruscan

We should also note that curses in different languages can be produced at the same site, such as NGCT 82 (Greek) and Lu 43 (Oscan) at Teuranus Ager, and that we have evidence for Greek curse tablets being written at sites where Oscan was also in use, such as SGD 124 at Metapontum.

In total, there are fourteen curse tablets written in Oscan, all of which were written between the fourth and first century BC.³² Eight of the Oscan curse tablets are written in the South Oscan alphabet. South Oscan curse tablets appear to have started being produced before Central Oscan curse tablets. The earlier South Oscan tablets show the most evidence of contact with Greek, while the latest Central Oscan tablets show more evidence of contact with Latin. There is not necessarily clear continuity between South Oscan and Central Oscan texts, as we will see in the rest of this chapter. It seems likely that the production of curse tablets in different Oscan-speaking regions was the result of multiple points of transmission from different Greek-speakers, probably at different periods, resulting in regional differences between Central Oscan and South Oscan curse tablets.

The Oscan texts were written using similar methods to Greek and Latin curse tablets, on thin sheets of lead or lead alloy, which were then rolled up or pierced with nails. The Oscan practice of writing curse tablets sometimes included both a list of targets and an explicit curse formula, e.g. Petelia 2, Cp 36 (Capua 33), Cm 13 (Cumae 9). But very often Oscan curse inscriptions were limited to long lists of name components in either the nominative or the accusative, some of which contained a dozen or more names.³³ Some examples in South Oscan show both nominatives and accusatives, apparently in opposition to each other as subject and object of an elided verb (see below).

It has been noted elsewhere that the earliest Latin curses come from Oscan-speaking areas such as Cumae and Pompeii,

³² For full bibliography on all of the Oscan curse tablets, see Murano 2013.

³³ For the nominative, see e.g. Lu 63 (Laos 3), Laos 4, Sa 36 (Bovianum 98), Cm 14 (Cumae 8); for the accusative, see e.g. Lu 46 (Laos 2).

that Latin-speakers may have associated Oscan and related languages with magic, and that they translated existing Oscan formulae when writing curses in Latin.³⁴ For example, Poccetti compares the Latin expression (*CIL* 1² 1012 = *ILLRP* 1144, Rome) *nec loqui nec sermonare possit*, ‘may he be able neither to say nor to talk’, with the Oscan (Cp 36/Capua 33) **nep deikum nep fatium pútiad**, ‘may he be able neither to say nor to speak’.³⁵ However, this theory should be treated carefully: the occasional association of Oscan with magical language does not mean that all Latin curse tablets were derived from Oscan sources. The first-century examples from Rome, for example, are more likely to have arisen from contact with Greek than with Oscan.

South Oscan curse tablets

The details of the findspots and archaeological contexts of the eight South Oscan curse tablets are given in [Table 18](#). Only three of the eight are known to have been found in grave contexts. Of the others, Petelia 2 contains an explicit curse formula, while Lu 45 (Buxentum 3), Lu 63 (Laos 3) and Lu 47 (Thurii Copia 1) are assumed to be curse texts on the grounds of their physical appearance. Lu 45 is not associated with any grave, but could be linked to a cult or ceremonial context.³⁶ This is comparable to the Greek practice of depositing curse tablets in sacred contexts, especially sanctuaries of chthonic deities. Lu 47 was found in an area with monumental buildings, and other lead tablets, which have not yet been unrolled, were found in the same area.³⁷

Curse formulae

In the following sections, I will discuss some aspects of the language of South Oscan curse tablets. As explained above,

³⁴ Dench 1995: 166; Adams 2003: 139. See, for example, Horace, *Epod.* 17.27–9; 17.60; Ovid, *Ars Am.* 2.102; Horace, *Sat.* 1.9.29–30.

³⁵ Poccetti 1993a: 80. ³⁶ Poccetti and Gualtieri 1990: 145.

³⁷ Poccetti 1993b: 214.

Table 18 *Archaeological contexts of South Oscan curse tablets*

Inscription	Context	Details
Lu 45 (Buxentum 3)	Roccagloriosa. Outside SE corner of portico, Complex A.	Found in dumped material in 1977; text read in 1986.
Lu 46 (Laos 2)	Laos. Tomb.	Chamber tomb. Burial of man, woman and horse with high-status grave goods. Found 1963. ^a
Lu 63 (Laos 3)	Laos. None.	Acquired from collector in 1890. Perhaps originally nailed to wall or wall of tomb? ^b
Laos 4	Laos. None.	Acquired from collector in 1890.
Lu 47 (Thurii Copia 1)	Castiglione. Found on surface.	Found near so-called 'theatre' in the 1970s.
Lu 44 (Crimisa 3) ^c	Crimisa. Tomb.	Found near temple of Apollo Aleus in the 1970s.
Petelia 2	Strongoli. Found on surface.	Found near necropolis areas of Fondo Castello and le Manche in 2000.
Lu 43 (Teuranus Ager 1)	Tiriolo. Tomb.	Found rolled up, 1881/2.

^a Greco and Guzzo 1992.^b Crawford 2011b: 1348.^c A faked copy of Lu 44 also exists. It misreads the text of Lu 44 in several places, for example, understanding <ΛΛ> as <M>. Poccetti 1984: 82.

curse tablets across the ancient world often used formulaic language to request particular outcomes for the target, though the use of these formulae is rare in South Oscan. In Petelia 2 the list of the targets' names is followed by a curse formula, which begins in Oscan and code-switches into Greek. Both the Oscan and Greek halves of the formula appear to be close imitations of an existing Greek model (see below).

Petelia 2 is the only South Oscan text to include an explicit curse formula. All of the other seven curses consist only of lists of names or, in the case of Lu 45, a list of names following an unrelated text. This contrasts with the Central Oscan curse tablets, in which four out of six examples include some formula or other details besides the names of the targets. Lists of names with no curse formula are fairly common in Greek curse tablets from Italy and Sicily, although explicit curse formulae and verbs of binding become more common during the Hellenistic period.

Given the difference in the use of formulae, it is worth exploring the possibility that there were different customs in writing curses in the South Oscan and Central Oscan areas. The numbers of texts are small in each case, and so the evidence should be taken very cautiously. But if there was indeed a regional difference, there are a number of reasons why this may have come about. The variation may relate in part to the time periods at which the curse tablets were written, since in general later curse tablets tend to contain lengthier and more complex formulae. The difference may also suggest that curse tablets were adopted separately in the South Oscan and Central Oscan areas. The adoption of curse tablets in the Central Oscan area may have taken place at a slightly later period, perhaps in the third or even early second century when longer curse formulae were becoming more common in Greek, rather than in the fourth century.

Nominative/accusative oppositions

Typically, either the nominative or accusative is used for lists of names in curse tablets. There are some examples where the



Figure 13 Lu 43 (Teuranus Ager 1). Drawing by F. Murano

writer uses both, starting out in one case before lapsing into the other. This is probably because the list is thought of as a list of names in a default case and not part of the syntax of a sentence.³⁸

Three of the eight South Oscan curse tablets show both the nominative and accusative in their list of names. These are not lists in which the writer eventually lapses into a different case, however, since these inscriptions always alternate between nominative and accusative. In Lu 43, there is just one nominative and one accusative.³⁹ In Lu 44 there are two names in each case; in Lu 47, there are probably three names in each case, depending on the interpretation of the damaged sections.⁴⁰ This is normally taken as a structure NOM. (VERB) ACC., where the nominative names the curser, the accusative names the victim and the verb is not stated. This pattern is not found in Central Oscan or in Greek.⁴¹ If this is the correct interpretation, then this would be a uniquely South Oscan or Bruttian development in the structure of curse texts. It is also problematic that this NOM. (VERB) ACC. interpretation makes Lu 47 and Lu 44 read as multiple people cursing multiple targets. This is not a situation that has clear parallels in other curse texts.

There are a number of reasons why NOM. (VERB) ACC. might not be the correct interpretation. First, there is a tendency in curse tablets for the curser to avoid naming himself

³⁸ Adams 2003: 682. ³⁹ Pisani 1952.

⁴⁰ Poccetti 1993b: 230. It is just possible that the damaged [-?]- $\text{io}\mu$ in line 2 of side B is a verb of cursing rather than an accusative name. However, Crawford 2011b: 1462 reads [2-3] $\text{io}\mu$, so that this is more likely to be an accusative, perhaps [$\mu\alpha$] $\text{io}\mu$.

⁴¹ Poccetti (1993b) 229; Dickie 2001: 128.

in writing to prevent himself from being cursed by accident or, more practically, from being found by the target of the curse if the tablet was discovered. Where there is a verb, it is most commonly a first-person verb without a named subject. The exceptions are 'prayers for justice' and erotic attraction spells.⁴² These categories are not applicable here: both prayers for justice and attraction spells tend to give more detail about the target, the wrongs done, and the desired effect of the curse. They also tend to date to a later period; see, for example, the large collection of prayers for justice at Bath.⁴³ Poccetti suggests that the nominative/accusative opposition might not indicate the curser and the target, but some other distinction, for example, different categories of target.⁴⁴

There are, however, exceptions to the rule against naming the curser. In DTA 55 (Attica, late fourth century BC) a name appears in the nominative at the beginning of the curse, centred above the rest of the text, which is apparently the name of the writer or commissioner of the curse.⁴⁵ In SGD 91 (Gela, Sicily, c. 450 BC) the writer curses in the first-person singular (ἀπογράφω) on behalf of another man, Eunikos, who is mentioned by name several times.⁴⁶ Although these examples give more extensive detail than the three South Oscan texts, they give a precedent for the curser being named. It is possible that this happened particularly when a curse was written on another's behalf. If Eunikos was not capable of writing his own curse, he could go to someone who would do it for him, possibly a professional, although in this case the friendship between the two men is mentioned. The South Oscan examples may be the result of a similar situation.

At the moment, there is enough of a precedent for the curser being named that the NOM. (VERB) ACC. interpretation remains preferable to reading these as lists of targets in which the case of the name varies. As with other aspects of the curse formulae, it is possible that the name of the curser was normally spoken aloud, but that it sometimes came to be written down

⁴² Ogden 1999: 18. ⁴³ Ogden 1999: 37.

⁴⁴ Poccetti 1984: 83; Poccetti 1993b: 229. ⁴⁵ Gager 1992: 158.

⁴⁶ Jordan 1985: 174; Ogden 1999: 58.

as well. It seems likely, because of the complete lack of this NOM. (VERB) ACC. pattern elsewhere, that this was a new regional development in South Oscan or even just in Bruttium. The use of a NOM. (VERB) ACC. structure shows that Oscan-speakers, even those in continued contact with written Greek models, adapted and altered the practices they borrowed.

Legal language

It has been observed several times that Oscan curse tablets may relate to judicial processes, or more generally to a *polis*-type context in which personal and political competition were an important part of everyday life.⁴⁷ This would suggest that Greek and Oscan curse tablets were similar in their social context as well as in their language and form. However, this connection is not uncomplicated, particularly in the South Oscan examples.

Greek examples of curse tablets are often related to judicial processes. Judicial or legal curses are the second largest subgroup of Greek curse tablets, after those in which the context is not given; judicial curses are also found very early, with two examples from around 500 BC on Sicily.⁴⁸ All judicial curses seem to take place before the trial and not afterwards, suggesting that commissioning a curse tablet was part of the preparation for a trial.⁴⁹ Crawford states that the corpus of Oscan curse tablets attests to a developed culture of legal writing, since four out of fourteen relate to legal procedure.⁵⁰ This would suggest that, as in Greek, lawsuits often provided the motivation for the curses that were written. Poccetti, arguing along these lines, also makes a wider point about the adoption of curse tablets into Oscan. He sees curse tablets as stemming from a certain type of organised society specific to Greek *polis* states, so that the adoption of the curse tablet model assumes the adoption of a wider social and political model.⁵¹

⁴⁷ Lazzarini 1994: 169; Poccetti 2010: 675; Crawford 2011b: 1.

⁴⁸ Gager 1992: 117. ⁴⁹ Gager 1992: 117. ⁵⁰ Crawford 2011b: 1.

⁵¹ Poccetti *et al.* 1993: 190; Poccetti 2010: 675; also Lazzarini 1994: 169.

The references to court cases and legal procedure in Central Oscan curses are similar to those in Greek examples. For example, some seek to prevent the target from speaking: **nep fatium nep deikum putians**, ‘may he be able neither to say nor to speak’ (Cp 36/Capua 33). Some specifically curse the speech or tongue: **aginss urinss ūlleis fakinss fang <v> am**, ‘(I curse) the actions, the speeches of that man, the deeds, the tongue...’ (Cm 13/Cumae 9); *fancua(s) recta(s) sint*, ‘May their tongues be rigid’ (Cm 15/Cumae 10).⁵² A similar Greek curse referring to the tongue has been found in Teuranus Ager (NGCT 82).⁵³ There are also echoes of legal language, such as the repeated use of **nep** ‘not’, and the use of multiple synonyms, such as **fatium**, **deikum** ‘say/speak’, in Cp 36, and the piling up of multiple similar items without conjunctions, for example **aginss, urinss ūlleis, fakinss, fangvam, biass, biitam, aftiim, anamum, aitatum, amirikum**, ‘the actions, the speeches of that man, the deeds, the tongue, the strengths, the life, the ability, the spirit, the age, the wealth’, in Cm 13. The Greek curse found in Teuranus Ager shows a very similar list of targeted attributes: ψυχάν, σῶμα (or στόμα), ισχύν, δύναμιν, ‘spirit, body (or mouth), strength, power’.⁵⁴ Curses also show imitation of the conditional structure used in legal texts, for example **svai: neip: dadid lamatir: akrid eiseis dunte[d]**, ‘if one should not give, may he be torn by his (Cerberus’) sharp bite’ (Cp 37/Capua 34), which we might compare to the South Oscan legal text Lu 62 (Buxentum 1): σφαι ειok νειπ φακτιεδ ‘if he should not do these things...’⁵⁵ Whether this choice of language relates clearly to the adoption of a *polis*-state political system, as Poccetti suggests, is less obvious.⁵⁶

This kind of legal language appears in four out of six of the Central Oscan curse tablets. It also appears in Greek

⁵² Cm 15 is written in a mixture of Oscan and Latin. ⁵³ Lazzarini 1994: 164.

⁵⁴ Lazzarini 1994: 164. It is not impossible that this Greek curse is in fact based on an existing Italic curse formula, and not the other way round, given the parallels between Cm 13 and the Umbrian curse Tab. Ig. v1b 60/v11a 49 noted by Brent Vine, Vine 2004.

⁵⁵ See also *lamatir* as a legal punishment (Tabula Bantina, line 21).

⁵⁶ We might also consider some aspects of these curses, such as alliterative lists and the phrase ‘strength (and) life’, to be derived from an Italic poetic tradition. See Watkins 1995: 155, 220–1; Vine 2004: 616–18.

curse tablets from Southern Italy, including the example from Teuranus Ager mentioned above. However, we do not have any clear evidence of legal language or legal context for the South Oscan curse tablets. It is possible that the formula used in Petelia 2 makes an ambiguous reference to legal procedure. The Oscan section of the curse formula, which reads $\pi\iota\sigma\pi\iota\tau\ \iota(v)\mu\ \sigma\omicron\lambda\lambda\omicron\mu\ \eta\iota\sigma\upsilon$, may be a translation of a common Greek curse formula including anyone acting on behalf of those already named in the curse (see below). This wording could relate to a legal case, though this is not made explicit. It is also possible, though speculative, that the long lists of names found in South Oscan curses relate to lists of witnesses in a court case, since this is a context in which someone might want to target a number of people simultaneously.

However, we do not have enough context in any of the South Oscan examples to say what kind of conflict motivated them. For example, Lu 45 might relate not to legal procedure but to trade, since the same sheet of lead had previously been used to record a sale; curses with commercial motivations were also typical of Hellenistic Greece.⁵⁷ Although they are quite different from the Central Oscan examples, the South Oscan texts are not unusual in the context of the contemporary practice of curse tablets overall. The frequency of judicial curses in Classical and Hellenistic Greece should not lead us to forget that the most common sub-group of Greek curses at this period is those where the context is not known at all. The lack of context in South Oscan curses is therefore not particularly unexpected, and may be the result of normal variation in the amount of detail provided at this period. The difference between the South Oscan and Central Oscan curse tablets is nevertheless striking, even though both are based on Greek models.

There have been other interpretations of the motivations of those writing the South Oscan curse texts. Pugliese Carratelli states that it is ‘evidente’ that the curse tablet Lu 46 (Laos 2) is the work of an Italiote Greek who resented his subjugation to

⁵⁷ Faraone 1991: 10; Ogden 1999: 33.

Texts

the new Lucanian conquerors.⁵⁸ As he sees it, the curse was targeting the new Oscan-speaking elite, and this is supported by the fact that some of the names in the curse are also found in the coinage of Laos of this period. This claim has more recently been refuted by Crawford.⁵⁹ The overall likelihood is that these texts were not driven by dislike of the new Oscan-speaking elite as Pugliese Carratelli claimed, but that they were motivated by the same kinds of conflicts as motivated Greek-speakers around Sicily and Italy to write similar texts, relating to law-suits, commerce and other disagreements.

Texts

Lu 45 (Buxentum 3)

Transcription

δυφο [με]διμνο πολε'ν' τα[3-4]ει[2-3]σ μετ[ισ 1]ανισ {δ}
υ[φισ] ηερισ πολλ[ιε]σ
[γ]αφισ φοιν[κισ] μαχιεσ
μαμερεξ [4-5]φιδισ
γανα[τ]σ
πακισ [-? -]
αντ[-? -]
μιν[-? -]

Translation

two-NOM.DUAL medimno-NOM.DUAL sold-3.SING./PL.PRES.PASS.
Herens-NOM.? Mettis-NOM.? Bannis-NOM.?



Figure 14 Lu 45 (Buxentum 3). Drawing provided by P. Poccetti

⁵⁸ Pugliese Carratelli 1992: 18.

⁵⁹ Crawford 2011b: 1345.

Curse tablets

Ovis-NOM. Heris-NOM. Pollis-GEN.
 Gavis-NOM. Phoinikis-NOM. Makkis-GEN.
 Mamerex-NOM. [4–5]vidis-NOM.
 <E>gnats-NOM.?
 Pakis-NOM.
 Ant[?–]
 Min[?–]

Two *medimnoi* are sold [for ??? *nomoi* (?) H]e[ren]s (?) Mett[is B]annis (?)
 O[vis] Heris, son of Pollis
 Gavis Phoinikis, son of Makkis
 Mamerex [?–]vidis
 <E>gnats (?)
 Pakis [?–]
 Ant[?–]
 Min[?–]

The first line of the Roccagloriosa inscription, unlike the list of personal names that follows, is written across the whole width of the tablet. The line is recognisably in Greek, and reads $\delta\upsilon\phi\omicron$ [με]διμνο πολεντα[i], i.e. $\delta\upsilon\phi\omicron$ μεδιμνῶ πῶλενται, meaning ‘two *medimnoi* (a measure of corn) are sold [for amount X]’.⁶⁰ Though he originally suggested that this could be a magical formula of some kind,⁶¹ Poccetti later noted that the two texts are by different hands and that the unfinished Greek text is the beginning of a record of a commercial transaction, which was then discarded.⁶² The sheet of lead appears to have been re-used at a later time for a list of names, which is plausibly a curse text. We do not know how much later the second text was written, or what relationship the writer of the curse may have had with the writer of the record of the transaction. While the curse text itself therefore does not show code-switching, it is nevertheless a sign of the bilingual context at this site.⁶³

⁶⁰ The addition of <ν> may be a way of ‘correcting’ the verb from singular (πωληται) to plural, resulting in πωληνται, instead of the plural πωλοῦνται. Note that the emendation in Crawford (2011b) 1334 to [με]διμνο(i) is unnecessary, since the noun may be dual (μεδιμνω) rather than plural. Thanks to Torsten Meißner for this observation.

⁶¹ Poccetti and Gualtieri 1990: 146. ⁶² Poccetti 2010: 676.

⁶³ Greek and Oscan were both in use at Roccagloriosa, as seen in the use of both Oscan and Greek in official texts: Oscan in a legal text (Lu 62/Buxentum 1) and Greek in the label ‘public’ on a bronze handle (Buxentum 2).

As already mentioned, curse tablets not only give us a large amount of onomastic information, but they also show more Greek-derived names than other kinds of inscriptions in this corpus.⁶⁴ In Lu 45, one particular personal name has attracted attention: [γ]αϝισ φοινι[κισ] μαχισ. This name shows two unusual features, which have raised questions about its structure.⁶⁵ First, the name φοινι[-] is not part of the usual repertoire of Oscan names, and is derived from the Greek φοῖνιξ ‘Phoenician, crimson (dye)’.⁶⁶ Second, the name μαχισ is spelled with <χ> and has an unusual ending (if it is genitive).

Campanile suggested that the second component of the name could be an ethnic, with the third element as an alternative name of Semitic origin – so ‘Gavis the Phoenician, known as Machies’.⁶⁷ However, Crawford has pointed out that φοῖνιξ, the ethnic for ‘Phoenician’, would not be long enough to fill the lacuna, which needs two to three letters.⁶⁸ The idea of μαχισ as an alias is also a difficulty, since this is not a phenomenon found anywhere else in our corpus. Crawford prefers to translate the name as ‘Gaius Phoenicius Maccius’, a three-part name with praenomen, gentilicium and cognomen. Another alternative would be to assume that this name has the same structure as other three-part Oscan names. Thus, φοινι[κισ] remains a gentilicium, as in Crawford’s interpretation, but μαχισ would be the genitive of the father’s name. Although the genitive would normally be *-ieis*, there is a recognised variant *-ies*, which may be a social variant.⁶⁹ In this case, the name could be a non-standard spelling of the genitive of the common praenomen **mais** or the rarer **makis**.⁷⁰ The use of phi in φοινι[κισ] may be an effort to maintain the spelling of the original Greek name, even though the name has become fully integrated into the Oscan

⁶⁴ McDonald 2012a: 49–50.

⁶⁵ Campanile 1992a; Poccetti 2000: 757; Crawford 2011b: 1335.

⁶⁶ This name is incorrectly transcribed ποινι[κισ] in Rix (2002).

⁶⁷ Campanile 1992a: 370; Poccetti 2000: 757.

⁶⁸ Crawford 2011b: 1335. ⁶⁹ Rix 1996: 246.

⁷⁰ For **mais**, see for example Sa 58 (Aquino 3), Aeclanum 14, Cp 39 (Capua 49); also the gentilicium **mahiis** in Sa 37 (Atina 1). For **makis**, see Surrentum 6, and the gentilicium **makkiis** in Campania Coin 1.

Curse tablets

gentilicium system. The use of phi and chi is discussed in more detail in [Chapter 3](#).

Lu 46 (Laos 2)

Transcription

Side A: μαραειν [vac] γαφιν
 οφι(ν) σαβιδι(ν) νοψιν
 νοψιν [vac] μεδεκον
 φαρ(ιν) φαριε(ι)σ οψιον
 σπεδι(ν) [vac] νοψιν
 φιβιν [vac] σαβιδιον
 μαραειν [vac] μεδεκον
 λοικιν φιβιν σπελιν

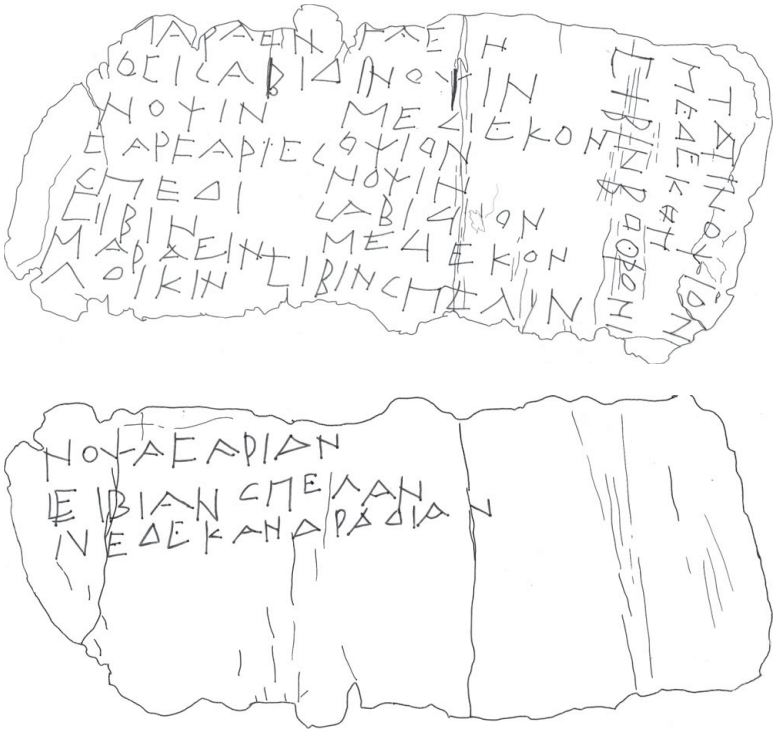


Figure 15 Lu 46 (Laos 2). Drawing by F. Murano

RH margin: στατιν οφιον
 μεδεκον
 φιβιν βοθρονη[ον]
 Side B: νοψ(ι)α(ν) φαριαν
 φιβιαν σπελ(ι)αν
 μεδεκαν αραδιαν

The reading of this inscription is complicated by the fact that we do not know which name components are meant to go together. While the reading given by Rix in *ST* implies four columns of names, Crawford prefers to read down the columns initially, and then across the whole tablet from $\text{φαρ(ι)ν} \text{φαριε(ι)σ} \text{οφιον}$ onwards.⁷¹ There are particular problems with how the names in the right-hand margin fit with the names in the main columns of the text.⁷² Murano argues for a reading such that the inscription starts with the portion in the right-hand margin. She suggests that the letters of the first two columns get smaller towards the right-hand side because the margin section was already there.⁷³ However, the lettering of some of the horizontal lines which do not reach the right-hand margin section also grows smaller, suggesting simply that the change in size was just a tendency of this writer.⁷⁴

Crawford's reading, reproduced above, is not without difficulties. His reading means that the name in the fourth line reads $\text{φαρ(ι)ν} \text{φαριε(ι)σ} \text{οφιον}$,⁷⁵ with the genitive of the father's name apparently placed between the praenomen and the gentilicium.⁷⁶ While it was once thought that this was a relatively common feature of South Oscan texts, in imitation of the syntax of Greek names, it has been shown that all but

⁷¹ Crawford 2011b: 1345.

⁷² Poccetti prefers a reading where some of the names have two components, and others only one, so that some of the praenomina or gentilicia function as stand-alone idionyms, on the basis that this is a possibility in this kind of Greek/Italic bicultural environment. It is not clear whether this interpretation is correct. Poccetti *et al.* 1993: 163–4.

⁷³ Murano 2006: 350; Murano 2013: 173–4. ⁷⁴ Crawford 2011b: 1347.

⁷⁵ Pugliese Carratelli suggests that φαρφαριε is not a name, but a magical word or invocation of demons. This seems unlikely, given the structure of the text and the date, since magical words appear mainly in Roman Imperial-era texts. See Pugliese Carratelli 1992: 18.

⁷⁶ Campanile 1992c: 373.

one of the inscriptions that were thought to show this syntax had been misread.⁷⁷ So, while this syntax is possible here, it would be exceptional. It would suggest that either the inscription was written in the context of very strong social pressure from Greek, which was beginning to affect the naming system used in the area, as at Messana, or that the writer had another exceptional reason for using this unusual syntax.

However, in Oscan as a whole, curse tablets can take an unusual approach to naming cursed individuals, for example in the use of the mother's name in Cp 37 (Capua 34, 200–150 BC).⁷⁸ Crawford suggests that the unusual order here reflects the fact that the writer first wrote the three praenomina $\text{F}\alpha\rho(\text{iv})$, $\sigma\pi\epsilon\delta\text{i}(\text{v})$, and $\text{F}\text{i}\beta\text{iv}$, the first with its filiation, and then afterwards filled in the three gentilicia.⁷⁹ An alternative might be to see $\text{F}\alpha\rho\text{i}\epsilon\sigma$ as nominative, where the distinction between nominative and accusative is not considered syntactically relevant and the names are simply in a default case. However, the obfuscation techniques of curse tablets mean that it is possible that the name components here have been written deliberately out of order. I have therefore not given a translation – the possibility that the names have been intentionally scrambled means that any reading can only be based on guesswork.

Despite the problems of reading this inscription, we can see for certain that the morphological endings are unusual: this inscription uses final $-\nu$ instead of $-\mu$ in the accusative endings of the list of names. In some of the names, the final nasal is completely absent. The intention behind this can be read in a number of different ways.

First, one could read this as a Greek text. The idea that this text was written by a Greek-speaker, and intended as

⁷⁷ La Regina 2002.

⁷⁸ This is unlikely to be linked to the later practice of metronymic naming in Greek curse tablets, which begins only in the Imperial period, inspired by some Egyptian naming practices. The motivation behind the sporadic use of metronymics in earlier Greek and Oscan curse tablets is not clear, but may relate primarily to curses written by or targeted at women, where female networks were of increased importance – Curbera 1999: 195–7. Alternatively, it could be seen as a way of guaranteeing the correct identification of the victim, since paternity is less certain than maternity.

⁷⁹ Crawford 2011b: 1345.

a Greek text cursing the new Oscan-speaking elite of Laos, was the interpretation of Pugliese Carratelli in the original publication of this text.⁸⁰ The spelling $-iv$ for $-iov$ is not unusual as a variant in Greek of this period.⁸¹ If the text is Greek, then we should see the choice between $<-iv>$ and $<-iov>$ in this text as more or less random. However, for this to be a Greek text, the Oscan word $\mu\epsilon\delta\epsilon\kappa\omicron\nu$ ‘magistrate’ would have been borrowed into the local variety of Greek, and would be an unusual example of Oscan influence on Greek.⁸²

In contrast, Poccetti states that he sees some kind of consistency in the usage of $<-iv>$ for names in $*-yo-$ (mainly praenomina) and $<-iov>$ for names in $*-iyo-$ (mainly gentilicia) in this text, and that this differentiation suggests that the text is written in Oscan.⁸³ Seeing consistent usage here relies on being able to identify which names are praenomina and which gentilicia, which may be impossible given the scrambling of the order of the names. Six of the names are written without a full morphological ending, which makes certainty even harder. If we are to read this as an Oscan text, it would have to be because of the use of the Oscan word $\mu\epsilon\delta\epsilon\kappa\omicron\nu$ ‘magistrate’, and the Oscan morphological ending on $\varphi\alpha\rho\iota\epsilon\sigma$, though it is not clear whether this is meant as nominative ($\varphi\alpha\rho\iota\epsilon\sigma$) or genitive ($\varphi\alpha\rho\iota\epsilon\iota\sigma$).

If Lu 46 is read as an Oscan text, this would suggest an environment where final nasals had been lost, probably with nasalisation of the preceding vowel. This could in turn lead to confusion among speakers about the correct orthography, with either $<\nu>$ or $<\mu>$ being used to represent the nasalisation. Although we do not have an exact parallel to this in other texts, there is sporadic loss of final $<-M>$ in other

⁸⁰ Pugliese Carratelli 1992: 17.

⁸¹ Pugliese Carratelli 1992: 17; Campanile 1992c: 372; Poccetti 2010: 674.

⁸² The meaning of $\mu\epsilon\delta\epsilon\kappa\omicron\nu$ $\alpha\rho\alpha\delta\iota\alpha\nu$ is also not clear. The most obvious solution is that this woman had some kind of familial relationship with the meddix – but since several men are named as a meddix, which one is this referring to? It is possible that $\alpha\rho\alpha\delta\iota\alpha\nu$ is an adjective specifying the meddix’s position, but this is not found anywhere else. It is possible that this was an official status that the woman held in her own right, but we do not hear of such a position elsewhere. Poccetti *et al.* 1993: 173.

⁸³ Poccetti *et al.* 1993: 177.

Oscan texts.⁸⁴ The omission of final <-M> in Oscan texts was identified by Buck as a phenomenon found mainly in Pompeii in inscriptions after 200 BC.⁸⁵ However, we now know that omission of final <-M> is not limited to Pompeii or to the latest period of Oscan writing.⁸⁶ In Laos 2, therefore, the spelling with final <-v> may indicate that final /-Vn/ and /-Vm/ have become indistinguishable as /-Ṽ/ in Oscan in this area. It could also be that the writer, making an association between magic and Greek-language texts, has borrowed Greek morphology onto an Oscan text.

Another alternative is that this is a form of graphemic borrowing. The text has been made visually more Greek by replacing final <-μ> with <-ν>, but without affecting the pronunciation of the text when read aloud. We might compare, for example, the Latin/Greek bilingual curse tablet from Barchin del Hoyo, in which a Latin text has Greek accusatives in <-ν>. This has been understood as an orthographic borrowing, which did not affect the sound of the Latin, since at this period the <-M> indicated only nasalisation of the preceding vowel.⁸⁷ A further possibility is that the text is deliberately ambiguous, and intended as a mixed-language text. If this is the case, the lack of endings on some of the names could be a strategy which allows the names to be read in different languages depending on the reader.⁸⁸

Laos 4

Transcription

- I. [πα]κιοσ καλιοσ
 φι[λ]λ[ιο]σ ασελλιοσ
 νυμψιοσ ποππαλαιοσ
 μινιοσ φαριοσ

⁸⁴ Campanile 1992c: 372. Note that there is also evidence of loss of final /-s/, /-m/ and /-n/ in post-Classical Greek. Poccetti 2000: 755.

⁸⁵ Po 1 (Pompei 13) 200–100 BC; Po 34 (Pompei 2) and Po 35 (Pompei 3), 91–89 BC. Buck 1928: 71.

⁸⁶ It is also found in He 3 (Anagnia 14) **esu(m)**, 300–275 BC; Lu 5 (Potentia 1) **ρεγο(μ)**, 125–100 BC; and Petelia 2 **ησου(μ)** = **esú(m)**, c. 300 BC.

⁸⁷ Adams 2003: 56; Arbabzadah 2009: 193. ⁸⁸ Poccetti 2010: 674.

Texts

5. [τ]ετοσ φαριοσ
vacat

Translation

Pakios Kailios
Villios Asellios
Numpsios Poppalaivos
Minios Varios
Tetos Varios

This inscription consists of a list of two-part names of Oscan origin in the nominative, but with the Greek morphological ending $-ιος$, rather than the South Oscan $-ies$.⁸⁹ Many of the same considerations apply as in the discussion of Lu 46, above. This could be a further example of Greek morphology being used to make the curse text visually or orally more Greek. In this example, however, the lack of Oscan vocabulary means that

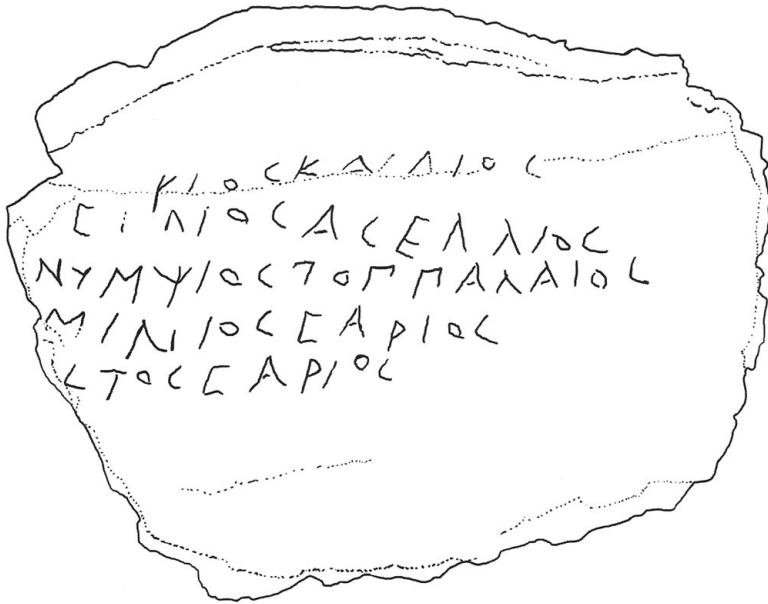


Figure 16 Laos 4. Drawing provided by P. Poccetti

⁸⁹ Poccetti 2000: 762.

Curse tablets

the text should probably be taken as a Greek-language text which happens to include names of Oscan origin.

Taken together, Lu 46 and Laos 4 show the writers of curse tablets at Laos making an atypical choice. At other sites, such as Cumae and Teuranus Ager, the language of the curse and the morphology of the names vary depending on the origin of the names, and therefore perhaps reflect the L1 of the targets.⁹⁰ The difference in practice at Laos may suggest an unusually bilingual environment in which the choice of language was freer.⁹¹ If the targets and the writer of the curse all spoke both Greek and Oscan, and they were used to seeing Oscan written in the Greek alphabet, then perhaps the distinction between the two written languages was less clear.

Petelia 2

Transcription

Col. I. I. ΚΑΦΝΟΤΟ ΣΤΑΤΙΟ
ΠΑΚΦΙΩ ΚΑΙ<δ>Ι<κ>Ω
ΠΑΚΟΛ ΣΤΑΤΙΕΣ
ΜΑΡΑ(Σ) ΣΤΑΤΙΕΣ



Figure 17 Petelia 2. Author's photo 16/09/2014. By kind permission of the Museo Archaeologico Nazionale di Crotone



Figure 18 Petelia 2. Author's drawing

⁹⁰ Poccetti 2000: 767.

⁹¹ Poccetti 2000: 768.

Texts

- Col. II. I. γναυ(σ) στατιεσ
 ριβι(σ) στατιεσ
 εμαυτο στατιω
 μιναδο καιδικω
 5. τρε<β>ω αυδα<φ>ο
 μινασ καιδικισ
- Col. III. I. αφεσ αυδαισ
 νοφιο αλαφιω
 μινα<δ>ο σκαφιριω
 βαντινω κωσσανω
- Col. IV. I. παφελιοσ νομο[-5-]νσ ετ
 ηισ ουσοσ αραξ μ[ι]νασ μινασ
 καρισ ταπ(?) πισπιτ ι(νι)μ σολλομ ηισου
 δεκεο ηερμα χθωνιε
 5. ταυτα και καθεκε αυτει

Translation

[List of names, all nominative]

Oscan: whoever-MASC.SING. and. all-MASC.GEN.PL.
 them-MASC.GEN.PL.

Greek: receive-IMP. Hermes-VOC. of-underworld-VOC.
 these-NEUT.ACC.PL. and. keep-IMP. here-ADV.

Kaunoto Statio, Paquio Kaidiko, Pakol Statiis, Maras Statiis, Gnaus Statiis,
 Vibis Statiis, Emauto Statio, Minado Kaidiko, Trebo Audauo, Minaz
 Kaidikis, Aues Audais, Nouio Alaphio, Minado Skaphirio, Bantino
 Kossano

The Pauelii, Nomo[?] [?]ns, ?and those ?of X: Arax, Minaz, Minaz, Karis, ???
 and whoever (is acting on behalf) of all of them,
 Hermes of the Underworld, receive these (names) and keep them here.

This text was first published by Lazzarini, and some changes to the reading of the fourth column of the text have been proposed by the ‘Greek in Italy’ project based on autopsy in September 2014.⁹² Before dealing with the language of the text, it should be acknowledged that there are a number of apparent

⁹² Lazzarini 2004; McDonald, Tagliapietra and Zair forthcoming. The changes to the reading mainly affect names listed at the beginning of column IV, and will not be discussed in detail here. The word ετ remains problematic, but may be a part of one of the names rather than the Latin word ‘and’. We prefer to see the name παφελιοσ as an Oscan nominative or accusative plural rather than a Greek ending. The word ουσοσ is probably also a nominative or accusative plural, perhaps equivalent to the demonstrative pronoun found in Umbrian, *ures* ‘of that’, and not the Latin word *Usus* used as a name as stated by Crawford.

mistakes and inconsistencies in the orthography of Petelia 2. These include $\kappa\alpha\iota\alpha\iota\delta\omega$ for $\kappa\alpha\iota<\delta>\iota<\kappa>\omega$, $\tau\rho\epsilon\delta\omega$ for $\tau\rho\epsilon<\beta>\omega$, $\alpha\upsilon\delta\alpha\delta\omicron$ for $\alpha\upsilon\delta\alpha<\phi>\omicron$, and $\mu\iota\nu\alpha\kappa\omicron$ for $\mu\iota\nu\alpha<\delta>\omicron$.⁹³ These do not seem to be mistakes made by someone unused to the Greek alphabet, since the confusion is not between letters of similar shapes, apart from alpha for delta in $\kappa\alpha\iota\alpha\iota\delta\omega$, nor is there confusion between sounds which might be phonetically similar except perhaps delta for beta in $\tau\rho\epsilon\delta\omega$. Several of the names appear spelled both correctly and incorrectly. These unusual mistakes only appear in the name section of the inscription and not the final formula. Though there are non-standard spellings in the final formula, they are confusions of phonetically similar sounds, mainly aspirated and unaspirated stops. The use of phi in the two names $\nu\omicron\phi\iota\omicron$ $\alpha\lambda\alpha\phi\iota\omega$ and $\mu\iota\nu\alpha\delta\omicron$ $\sigma\kappa\alpha\phi\iota\rho\iota\omega$ could be intended to represent /f/ voiced between vowels, but could also be used represent /p/ or /p^h/.⁹⁴ There is other evidence that, despite the errors, this text was not written by someone with very low levels of literacy, such as the organisation of the text into columns, which is suggestive of higher literacy than writing the names continuously across the page.⁹⁵

The mistakes that are made do not seem to relate to a lack of knowledge of the Greek alphabet, Greek orthographic practice or the Oscan language. It is possible that these spellings are the result of deliberate obfuscation of the names. Spellings such as $\kappa\alpha\iota\alpha\iota\delta\omega$ for $\kappa\alpha\iota<\delta>\iota<\kappa>\omega$ almost recall strategies such as the reversed order of letters within each syllable, such as $\nu\alpha\iota\tau\alpha\mu\omicron\chi\varsigma$ for $\alpha\nu\tau\iota\mu\alpha\chi\omicron\varsigma$, though executed imperfectly, writing $-\delta\omega[\kappa]$ for $-\delta\iota\kappa\omega$. But if anything, the confusions are not frequent enough to be conclusive proof of this kind of deliberate obfuscation.

Other points of the orthography have been subject to debate. The names ending in omicron and omega have been interpreted in two different ways. Lazzarini stated in the original publication of the text that these are Doric Greek genitive endings, and that the list of names shows a mixture of Oscan morphology in

⁹³ This name should perhaps be spelled $\mu\iota\nu\alpha\tau\omicron$ if related to the masculine form **minaz**.

⁹⁴ See the discussion in [Chapter 3](#) for more detail. ⁹⁵ Gordon 1999: 255.

the nominative and Greek morphology in the genitive.⁹⁶ If this is the case, then both the list of names and the final formula show code-switching between Oscan and Greek. This interpretation has been followed by Poccetti and Murano,⁹⁷ but disputed by Crawford, who reads them as female names in the nominative.⁹⁸

It is difficult to see why some of these names should be read as genitives. Where curse tablets have lists of names, they are consistently in the nominative or accusative, or sometimes both, as discussed earlier in this chapter. The use of a mixture of nominative and genitive names is not found anywhere else. If the names in the genitive are meant to relate to the fathers or owners of the names in the nominative, this text would be exceptional among Oscan inscriptions in giving both praenomen and gentilicium of the father's name in the genitive, rather than just the praenomen. The order of the names would also cause problems for this interpretation, since it would be difficult to make sense of the times when two or three names in the genitive are listed in a row. It is much more likely that all of the names are in the nominative, and that the names ending in $-\sigma$ and $-\omega$ are female names. The omicron and omega would be the expected representation of the sound found in Oscan feminine names ending in $-\acute{u}$.

The curse formula that follows the list of names reads as follows: $\pi\iota\sigma\pi\iota\tau\ \iota\mu\ \sigma\omicron\lambda\lambda\omicron\mu\ \eta\iota\sigma\upsilon\ \delta\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\omicron\ \eta\epsilon\rho\mu\alpha\ \chi\theta\omega\nu\iota\epsilon\ \tau\alpha\upsilon\tau\alpha\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \kappa\alpha\theta\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\epsilon\iota$. The first clause is in Oscan, and the second underlined clause is in Greek. Crawford's translation of the whole curse formula is: 'Whoever also (is) of (= associated with) all of them, receive (them), Hermes of the Underworld, these things also keep here.'⁹⁹ The syntax of the Oscan part of the phrase is not completely clear. Crawford assumes $\eta\sigma\upsilon = \text{esú(m)}$, so that $\sigma\omicron\lambda\lambda\omicron\mu\ \eta\sigma\upsilon$ means 'of all of them'.¹⁰⁰ This is the best suggestion proposed so far, and will be followed here. But

⁹⁶ Lazzarini 2004: 676. ⁹⁷ Poccetti 2010: 674; Murano 2013: 195.

⁹⁸ Crawford 2011b: 1475. ⁹⁹ Crawford 2011b: 1476.

¹⁰⁰ We have suggested a reading $\eta\iota\sigma\upsilon$ rather than $\eta\sigma\upsilon$, since the iota after the eta is clear, but this does not change the meaning of the text. McDonald, Tagliapietra and Zair forthcoming.

the question remains how we should take the genitive standing alone in this context.

The use of the genitive seems to be derived from Greek models for this formula. Many Greek curses put this kind of phrase at the end of a list of names, to make sure that no one whom they might have forgotten would be spared. For example, SGD 106 (Selinous, late fifth century) has three names in the nominative, followed by καὶ ὅσστις ὑπὲρ τήνων μέλλει ἢ λέγειν ἢ πράσσειν, ‘and anyone about to speak or act on their behalf’. Closer to the wording used in Petelia 2 are phrases such as καὶ τοῦ<ς> ὑπὲρ ετοῦς (= αὐτοῦς) ἅπαντας, ‘and those (acting) on behalf of all of them’ (SGD 110, Selinous, first century BC or first century AD); or κἄλλος ἢ ἔστι μετ’ αὐτῶν, ‘and if any other person is with them’ (NGCT 50, Lesbos, fourth or third century BC).¹⁰¹ In these phrases, ὑπὲρ or μετὰ tends to be the preposition used, often with the genitive. In the case of ὑπὲρ, the meaning is not ‘with’ but ‘on behalf of’. The Oscan phrase in Petelia 2 seems to be based on a Greek phrase similar to these.¹⁰² In translating the phrase from Greek, the writer has kept the genitive case from the Greek, rather than translating ὑπὲρ or μετὰ with the Oscan preposition *kúm*, which would have to take the ablative.¹⁰³ To preserve the use of the genitive, the writer has missed out the preposition altogether.¹⁰⁴ Therefore, I suggest the alternative translation of the Oscan clause in the curse formula: ‘and whoever (is acting on behalf) of all of them’. This keeps the meaning relatively close to the Greek phrases on which the formula appears to be based.

The expansion of *ιμ* to *ιμιμ* is problematic. This was suggested by Crawford in his reading,¹⁰⁵ but would be a unique way of abbreviating *ιμιμ*, which is usually shortened to *ιν*. Crawford’s translation also assumes that *ιμιμ* can be used to mean ‘also’ as well as ‘and’, though we have no other evidence for this. It

¹⁰¹ Dale and Aneurin 2011.

¹⁰² Thanks to Moreed Arbabzadah for this suggestion. ¹⁰³ Buck 1928: 207.

¹⁰⁴ The genitive could also mean something like ‘belonging to them’, i.e. their wives/husbands and children. Cf. DTA 55 (Attica, late fourth century BC), which refers to the wives and children of the targets at the end of the formula.

¹⁰⁵ Crawford 2011b: 1475.

seems plausible that $\iota\nu\iota\mu$ or the abbreviation $\iota\nu$ might be written as $\iota\mu$ in error, but this should perhaps be represented in transcription as $(\iota\nu)\iota\mu$ rather than $\iota(\nu\iota)\mu$, as Crawford represents it. The translation ‘and’ is preferable to ‘also’, based on how this conjunction is used elsewhere.

The Greek clause is a relatively common Greek curse formula, asking Hermes to receive something or someone.¹⁰⁶ There are several features in this clause which have been identified as Doric,¹⁰⁷ such as the spelling $\delta\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\omicron$ rather than Attic $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\chi\omicron\upsilon$, the vocative $\eta\epsilon\rho\mu\alpha$ ‘Hermes’ and $\alpha\upsilon\tau\epsilon\iota$ for $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$ ‘just here’.¹⁰⁸ There are also a number of non-standard spellings in the Greek. The use of omega for omicron ($\chi\theta\omega\nu\iota\epsilon$ for $\chi\theta\acute{o}\nu\iota\epsilon$) shows the same interchangeability of ω/o as found throughout the list of names. The other non-standard spelling is $\kappa\alpha\theta\epsilon\kappa\epsilon$ for $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\tau\epsilon\chi\epsilon$, with a metathesis of the aspiration. These spellings may reflect a lack of familiarity with Greek, suggesting that the writer was an L2 speaker of Greek who could not reliably hear the difference between aspirated and non-aspirated stops. The form $\kappa\alpha\theta\epsilon\kappa\epsilon$ may also show a false analogy being made with the stem in verbs such as $\acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\epsilon}\theta\eta\kappa\epsilon$, which would have been familiar from Greek dedicatory texts.

The translation of the Greek clause of the formula is relatively straightforward. Crawford’s translation suggests that the object of $\delta\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\omicron$ is not expressed and that $\tau\alpha\upsilon\tau\alpha$ is the object of $\kappa\alpha\theta\epsilon\kappa\epsilon$, but it is also possible to take $\tau\alpha\upsilon\tau\alpha$ as the object of both verbs. The word $\tau\alpha\upsilon\tau\alpha$ may refer to the unnamed people in the Oscan part of the formula (the ‘whoever’), but since it is neuter plural it may instead refer to the names listed on the tablet. This clause could then be translated, ‘Hermes of the Underworld, receive these (names) and keep them here.’

We might also consider what motivates the code-switch in the formula. One way of looking at this is to consider the hypothetical interlocutor. At the point where the formula becomes a request to Hermes, with an imperative and the vocative, the

¹⁰⁶ Poccetti 2010: 674. ¹⁰⁷ Lazzarini 2004: 679.

¹⁰⁸ Found in West Greek and Boeotian; see Buck 1955: 102.

writer switches into Greek. This may be because Greek was the language associated with Hermes, and therefore was appropriate for speaking to him directly.¹⁰⁹ The code-switch may also be used because the formula was familiar to the writer in Greek, and he did not want to translate the whole thing away from the original language.

Overall, Petelia 2 shows some of the clearest evidence of Oscan/Greek contact of all of the South Oscan curse texts. The mistakes in the spelling of the names do not necessarily suggest a writer unfamiliar with Oscan names or one unfamiliar with writing Greek, since the ‘mistakes’ are idiosyncratic, though some of them might suggest an L2 speaker of Greek. The final Greek formula and the Oscan formula translated from Greek may be part of the same effort to use the Greek language wherever possible. Whoever translated the Greek formula partly into Oscan must have had some knowledge of both languages, but we cannot know whether this was the writer of the curse or the writer of a handbook of formulae.

Conclusions

The eight South Oscan curse texts give us some of our clearest evidence for Greek/Oscan contact between the fourth and second centuries BC. The practice of writing curse tablets was without question transmitted to Oscan-speakers from the Greek-speakers of Sicily and Southern Italy, but possibly also from those travelling from further afield. In the texts known so far, a wide range of contact phenomena are in evidence: Greek/Oscan code-switching (Petelia 2), two texts in different languages being written on the same object (Lu 45), translations of Greek curse formulae into Oscan (Petelia 2), and Oscan names in apparently Greek-language inscriptions (Lu 46 and Laos 4). The use of characters such as phi, theta and chi is also considerably higher in these texts than elsewhere in the corpus. This may relate to the fact that more Greek-derived

¹⁰⁹ Cf. other tablets in Greek that address Hermes directly, and request that Hermes restrain the targets: DTA 52 (Attica, third or second century BC), DTA 109 (Attica), DTA 87 (Attica, fourth century BC).

names are used here than elsewhere. But since some of these names (μαχιεσ, βοθρονιον, αλαφιω) are not easily identifiable as Greek names, the use of these characters may instead relate to a desire to imitate Greek orthography.

While the overall practice of writing and depositing curses remained fundamentally unchanged in the appearance of the tablets, the places where they were deposited and the use of lists of names, we also get glimpses of ways in which South Oscan-speakers may have adapted the practice. The limited amount of information given in South Oscan curse tablets differentiates them from Central Oscan examples, suggesting that these regions borrowed the practice of writing curse tablets from Greek independently. The gap of a century or more between the earliest South Oscan and the earliest Central Oscan curses may also help to explain the difference in practices. Since Greek curse tablets became lengthier and more likely to use extended curse formulae throughout the Hellenistic period, the models available to the first writers of Oscan curses in Campania may have been rather different from those in Lucania and Bruttium. Overall, the use of curses in the languages of Italy shows continued interaction with Greek across several centuries and a large number of sites, with multiple points of transmission and contact.

Other features of South Oscan curse tablets may be the result of independent regional development. Three of the eight South Oscan texts show a syntactic structure – NOM. (VERB) ACC. – not found elsewhere. This is not just a matter of syntax, but also of belief, since the writers of these curses did not seem to fear divine or human retribution as a result of including their name on the tablet. While there are some Greek precedents for this to a limited degree, it is likely that writers of curses in Oscan in Bruttium had developed a new way of writing curse texts.

The story of curse tablets in South Oscan therefore has two distinct threads: on the one hand, the desire to stay close to Greek models; on the other, the possibility of moving away from those models to create new, local traditions within this genre. In magical texts, there is a desire to use the right kind of language for the situation, in the sense of both the right

linguistic variety and the right formulae, because the right language has the power to make the curse stronger and more effective. On the other hand, not all writers felt compelled to keep close to the Greek models. For example, while Petelia 2 addresses Hermes, other Oscan writers may have chosen to harness the power of local chthonic deities, or to deposit their curses in local graves. In these situations, they may have seen the Oscan language as more appropriate than Greek. Certain writers might not have seen a problem in naming themselves, or the people for whom they were writing the curse. In this way, new regional norms could arise within South Oscan even while drawing on Greek models.

LEGAL TEXTS

The recent discovery of two very fragmentary legal texts in Lucania – Lu 62 (Buxentum 2) at Roccagloriosa and Ps 20 (Blanda 1) at Tortora – now allows us greater insight than ever before into the development of Oscan and Sabellian legal language. The Tabula Bantina, the lengthiest and most complete Oscan legal text, also comes from Lucania, and so the study of Sabellian legal language is now dominated by texts from the South Oscan area. These three texts, taken alongside legal texts written in the other Sabellian languages, suggest a long tradition of legal writing with considerable continuity in the use of particular lexical items and syntactic structures. Like the rest of the South Oscan corpus, the tradition of written law is unlikely to have been completely isolated, and may have taken inspiration from the legal texts of the Greek world and formed part of an Italic legal *koine*.

In this chapter, I will examine aspects of Oscan and Sabellian legal language. In particular, this chapter will explore the different ways in which commands and prohibitions could be expressed in Oscan legal language, and how the Tortora inscription might contribute to our understanding of Sabellian legal language. Contact with Greek remains an important issue to take into account, but we will see that South Oscan legal language does not show evidence of pronounced Greek influence except in a few small aspects. It is likely, however, that there was considerable contact with other legal traditions in Italy, such that a shared legal *koine* developed across a number of languages, including Latin and Umbrian.¹ The legacy of this contact may have included borrowed words and syntactic structures, but also the forms taken by written laws and the role of

¹ Dupraz 2012b: 4.

law in the community. The debt to Latin legal language is most pronounced in the *Tabula Bantina*, c. 100 BC. Unfortunately, the limited evidence makes it difficult to examine the effects of language contact in detail in earlier texts.

The laws of Italy

The influence of Greek

In Roman Imperial times, a number of ancient authors recount stories of the origins of Roman law. Many of these stories suggest that the peoples of Italy had derived the idea of written law, including its form and contents, from Greece. Dionysius of Halicarnassus describes embassies to Athens and to the Greek cities of Italy to study law codes.² Livy refers to a story that Numa Pompilius, one of the early kings of Rome, was taught law by Pythagoras. He rejects this account on the grounds that they lived a century apart and that they would have had no shared language.³ There may be a grain of truth in the idea of contact with Greek as a catalyst for written law, even if the most famous lawgivers never met face-to-face. Some modern scholars admit that there may have been early Greek influence on Latin law, while maintaining that its later development in content and style was mainly autonomous.⁴ However, we know that the Roman elite continued to be informed by laws from the Greek-speaking world: Cicero, for example, refers to the work of the lawgivers Zaleucus and Charondas and Solon in the *De Legibus*.⁵

Less attention has been given to how the language of Greek law may have inspired or affected the legal texts of the other peoples of ancient Italy. The possible impact of Greek on Sabelian legal writing has been relatively neglected partly because the Greek legal material from Italy is extremely limited. The texts that survive come mainly from Sicily rather than Southern Italy. Other legal texts produced by the Italiote communities

² Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Ant. Rom.* 10.51.5. Courtney 1999: 13.

³ Livy 1.18. ⁴ Powell 2011: 464, 471; Courtney 1999: 8, 13.

⁵ Cic. *De Leg.* 2.14–15; *De Leg.* 2.59, 2.64. Powell 2005: 123.

have been found at Olympia, and not in Italy itself. Many of the legalistic texts from Sicily are private contracts rather than official decrees or laws, and much of the evidence is very fragmentary.

The reasons for the paucity of evidence in Sicily and Southern Italy, in spite of the area's legendary lawgivers, are not clear. It is possible that there was a difference of epigraphic habit: either laws were primarily oral rather than written, or were habitually written on wooden boards and other less durable materials.⁶ We know from other sources that a considerable part of the practice of Greek law and decision-making remained oral in many areas even after the advent of writing.⁷ In fact, despite the amount of written evidence available, Latin law also maintained a high degree of orality throughout the Republic, and many regulations involved the speaking of the correct form of words.⁸ It is possible, therefore, that few durable Greek laws were produced in Italy.

The evidence of Greek law in Italy is sparse, but this does not mean discounting the influence of Greek on Sabellian legal language. It is possible that Greek laws on non-durable materials provided a model for the earliest Sabellian legal texts, or that the idea of laws on stone and bronze came from Greek-speakers outside Italy. If this were the case, we might expect to find laws in Sabellian languages which imitate the physical forms of laws from Greece. The clearest example of this is the Tortora inscription (Ps 20), *c.* 500 BC. This inscription appears to be a legal text written in an Italic language of the Sabellian branch, conventionally known as 'Pre-Samnite' (see [Chapter 1](#)). The resemblance to early Greek laws from the Aegean is striking, and suggests a Greek model for Ps 20 (see below). But by the

⁶ We might compare the use of non-durable linen (the Zagreb mummy) to write a longer version of a prescribed ritual in Etruscan, with only a shorter version on a durable tile (the Capua tile). A similar redaction of a longer text is used in the Iguvine Tables. Rix 1985: 21.

⁷ Thomas 1992: 145–7.

⁸ De Meo 1983: 75. It has often been noted that early Latin laws, such as the Twelve Tables, were drafted in such a way that they could be remembered and recited orally, and Cicero confirms that this was the case during his own childhood (Cic. *De Leg.* 2.59).

time of the first extant Oscan legal text c. 300 BC, the practice of writing legal texts on four-sided stones had been abandoned, so this was not a lasting influence.

The usual Oscan practice appears to have been to write legal texts on bronze tablets, as was common at Rome.⁹ This practice is also found in the Greek world, but there is no clear reason to believe that the practice must have been inspired by Greek examples; the extensive use of bronze tablets for legal texts appears to have been a development of the Italic legal *koine*. The use of bronze rather than stone may be based on practical considerations, such as a shortage of stone or the greater ease of engraving small letters and long texts. But the use of bronze may also reflect a different attitude to the place of law in the community. In some ways, the two forms have a similar effect: both a stone cippus and a series of large bronze tablets could function as symbolic statements of power and community cohesiveness when on public display. But bronze tablets are sometimes supposed to have been used as a practical, legible archive that was regularly used to check points of law in a way that stone laws were not.¹⁰ This may contain an element of truth, since bronze tablets tend to be marked with titles for each separate law and with spaces to divide paragraphs and topics, but there were nevertheless certain practical difficulties with reading laws on bronze. Though our fragments are relatively easy to read and turn over, full-size tablets were sometimes several metres high, so that a ladder would be needed to read the top and it would be difficult to read the writing near floor level. It is likely that elite Romans were more inclined to consult archive copies on papyrus or wax tablets for day-to-day purposes.¹¹ Nevertheless, the availability of public bronze copies could have been held up as a guarantee of transparency, fairness and legitimacy.¹²

⁹ Roman laws on bronze survive from the second century BC onwards, but ancient testimonia suggest they were already in use several centuries earlier. The earliest Latin legal texts that survive are on stone.

¹⁰ Frederiksen 1965: 186. ¹¹ Williamson 1987: 163–4.

¹² Cicero, for example, describes grants of citizenship being nullified when their tablets were removed from display (*Fam.* 13.36). If they could not be seen publicly, it seems

Greek may have continued to inform the writing and content of Oscan and Sabellian laws as their tradition developed. We know little about the subject and content of the Tortora and Roccagloriosa texts, so it is usually impossible to tell whether these communities' legal systems owed anything to other law codes. There is a hint of a connection to Greek legal practice in Lu 62, which appears to contain the verbs 'he will have stolen' and 'he will have found'.¹³ We can tentatively suggest that this might describe the legal procedure in the event of a theft, including a search of the house of the accused for stolen goods. Similar procedures and references to formal searches of a thief's house appear in Plato (*Laws* 12.954a–b), in Aristophanes *Clouds* (497–9) and in the Twelve Tables.¹⁴ If a similar law is present in the Roccagloriosa inscription, then it could reflect a shared Indo-European legal tradition, or it may show Greek influence on the Italian legal *koine* or on one or more of the languages of Italy.

Legal texts in Lucania

The extant legal texts from the South Oscan area are listed in Table 19. For a long time the Tabula Bantina (Lu 1/Bantia 1), a legal text written on a bronze tablet discovered in the late eighteenth century, was the only extant secular law in an Italic language other than Latin. It is dated to c. 100–91 BC, just before the Social War between Rome and its allies; the tablet bears a slightly earlier Latin law on the reverse.¹⁵ At this period, Latin influence on Oscan was already strong, and much of the Oscan-speaking population was probably bilingual in Latin.¹⁶ For this reason, the Tabula Bantina has been discussed in the past as a translation of a Latin law into Oscan.¹⁷ The Tabula Bantina provides a great deal of evidence of Latin/Oscan

that Roman laws lost their force. We do not know if this also applied in other communities in Italy.

¹³ Based on a new etymology for *φουρουσται* as 'he will have found' < **φουρ-*, cf. Greek *εὑρον*, 'I found'. McDonald and Zair 2012: 34–5.

¹⁴ McDonald and Zair 2012: 40–2. ¹⁵ Crawford 2011b: 1437.

¹⁶ Adams 2003: 116. ¹⁷ Crawford 1996: 271; Bispham 2007: 147.

Table 19 *Legal texts from Lucania*

Rix number	Crawford number	Date	Findspot	Text type
Ps 20	Blanda 1	c. 500	Tortora	Legal. Stone cippus
Lu 62	Buxentum 1	300–200	Roccagloriosa	Legal. Bronze tablet (fragment)
Lu 1 (TB)	Bantia 1	100–91	Bantia	Legal. Bronze tablet

bilingualism, and scholars have discussed in detail the borrowing and calquing of a large number of Latin legal expressions.¹⁸ Other scholars have begun to suggest, though, that the Tabula Bantina needs to be revisited from the perspective of the Oscan-language tradition, sidelining to some extent its debt to Latin.¹⁹ Dupraz, for example, comments that similarities between the Tabula Bantina and Latin legal texts may show evidence of a shared legal *koine* developed across the Italic languages, rather than borrowings exclusively from Latin to Oscan.²⁰

The discovery of Lu 62 and Ps 20 shows us two earlier stages of the legal tradition in Lucania. Neither text can be said to be a translation from a Latin law in the way that the Tabula Bantina can, and so they may show us what legal writing looked like in Lucania before the political domination of Rome. The fullest treatment of these texts as part of a developing tradition of legal language is by Poccetti.²¹ He seeks to unravel the ‘tradizione autenticamente italica’ that is obscured by the profound Latin influence on the Tabula Bantina,²² though he focuses on searching the texts for elements inherited from proto-Italic and the convergence between Latin and Sabellian

¹⁸ Adams 2003: 138; Campanile 1976; Porzio Gernia 1970; Crawford 1996: 286 on the term *castrid*; Bispham 2007: 147–50; Decorte 2012.

¹⁹ Poccetti 2009a: 166; Del Tutto Palma 2006: 530. ²⁰ Dupraz 2012b: 4, 90 n. 95.

²¹ Poccetti 2009a. ²² Poccetti 2009a: 167.

legal language in their earliest stages.²³ This analysis provides valuable insights, but there are many other angles which still need to be explored.

In this chapter, I deal primarily with one aspect of these texts which has not been discussed before: the syntax of commands and prohibitions in these texts in the context of our other Oscan evidence, and in comparison with the legal language of Latin and Greek. I am interested in showing the variation in legal language which existed within Oscan, rather than assuming that the Tabula Bantina is representative of all Sabellian legal language. Through this analysis, we get some hints of how the elaboration of legal language in the Italic legal *koine* may have developed, and possible points of contact with Greek law. This chapter does not exhaust all possible ways of viewing Ps 20, Lu 62 and the Tabula Bantina, but tries to make a case for reading them as part of a wider Sabellian and Italic tradition.

The sources used in this chapter include not only ‘laws’ proper, meaning statutes passed by a popular or elected assembly, but other kinds of legal texts: decrees, regulations, edicts, treaties, contracts, testaments, and so on. There has also been no systematic attempt to separate ‘secular’ from ‘sacred’ law, since it is unlikely that this distinction was used by ancient writers or that ‘secular’ law is an indication of a more advanced society.²⁴ It is likely that, as in Greek- and Latin-speaking communities of a similar period, these were overlapping categories.

Commands and prohibitions

The need to express commands and prohibitions is common to all legal writing. However, even within one language, there may be a variety of ways to express the same prescription. Some of the theoretically possible forms for issuing a command may not

²³ Poccetti 2009a: 185, 230.

²⁴ While this separation is often used by convention, ‘sacred laws’ are now recognised to be a modern construct. Vocabulary that appears ‘religious’ to modern readers, such as the opening word *θεός* or *θεοί* in Greek and the Latin *sacer esto* ‘he is to be cursed’, is found in legal texts with all kinds of content. In Latin, the term *carmen* can refer to both ritual and legal texts. Lupu 2005: 4; Tellegen-Couperus 2012: 1–4; Ter Beek 2012: 27.

be used in legal documents. For example, in Greek and Italic, the second-person present imperative tends to be avoided in legal language.²⁵ This selection of forms is part of the development of a ‘legalese’ style of language.²⁶

Latin and Greek commands and prohibitions

In Greek legal texts, imperative infinitives and imperatives in *-*tōd* are the most commonly used verb forms for commands.²⁷ In general, the infinitive is more frequent in early inscriptions and the imperative in *-*tōd* (imperative II) in later inscriptions, including Greek translations of Latin *leges*, but the imperative and the infinitive can often appear side by side.²⁸ While the two forms are essentially synonymous, there is some evidence that the infinitive was the unmarked form, and was preferred for negation and for more impersonal prescriptions, though the distribution is different across different dialects.²⁹ Where infinitives are used in Greek legal texts, they can stand alone as jussive infinitives, or can be part of an extended indirect speech introduced by a verb such as ‘decided’ or ‘proposed’.

There are dialectal differences in the syntax of commands in Greek. In Elean, the optative with the particle *κα* is the usual form; in Arcadian and Cypriot, the optative is used without the particle.³⁰ The jussive optative can stand alongside jussive infinitives and the imperative with no clear distinction in meaning. Although each community had its norms, these norms were fairly flexible, so that imperatives, infinitives and optatives were interchangeable options available to the writer. Other variants include the occasional use of the subjunctive, the future indicative or the present indicative.³¹ The use of the present indicative is characteristic of prescriptions in calendars or comparable sacrificial regulations.³²

²⁵ The semantics of the present imperative were such that it applied to a specific reader or hearer, unlike the imperative II, which could be used in both a specific and an impersonal sense. Rosén 1999: 115–19.

²⁶ Powell 2005: 121–2. ²⁷ García Ramón 2001: 341; Lupu 2005: 5.

²⁸ Buck 1955: 140. ²⁹ García Ramón 2001: 345. ³⁰ Buck 1955: 138.

³¹ Lupu 2005: 6 n. 16. ³² Lupu 2005: 6 n. 17.

Latin also has a range of methods for expressing commands in a legal context. Unlike in Greek, the syntax tends to be contingent on the type of legal text. So, *senatus consulta* present their prescriptions in indirect speech, usually in the imperfect subjunctive, because they follow a perfect indicative verb used as a simple past tense: *censuere* ‘they (the senate) decided’. This use of indirect speech reflects the fact that *senatus consulta* were, in theory, advice given by the senate rather than laws passed by the people, though the distinction had been lost in practice by the late Republic.³³ Within the indirect speech, *senatus consulta* also commonly use the expression *uolo* (or *nolo*) in the imperfect subjunctive + perfect infinitive.³⁴

Leges, or statute laws, tend to use the imperative in **-tōd*, and do not have a verb of deciding at the beginning.³⁵ This is true of the earliest laws known to us, including the Twelve Tables, and continues throughout the increasingly verbose laws of the Republican era.³⁶ Short phrases with **-tōd* were also used in other kinds of legal documents. For example, in wills the formula *Titus heres esto*, ‘Titus is to be the heir’, had to be used; other wordings such as *Titum heredem esse uolo* ‘I want Titus to be the heir’, and so on, were regarded as invalid.³⁷ Note that, unlike in Greek, the Latin imperative *ī* has only one tense, and is often referred to as the ‘future imperative’.³⁸

The standardisation of the syntax of *senatus consulta* and *leges*, and the relatively consistent differentiation of the two, pre-dates our earliest written evidence. All of the texts available to us, including very early reconstructed texts such as the Twelve Tables, show these same syntactic patterns. On the basis of the possible use of the imperative in **-tōd*, it has been suggested that the Lapis Niger (seventh or sixth century, Roman Forum) and the Corcolle Altar (c. 500, Corcolle) are both texts containing legal prescriptions, perhaps relating to a religious

³³ Powell 2011: 475.

³⁴ The use of the perfect infinitive in this instance is aspectual rather than conveying tense. De Meo 1983: 100; Clackson and Horrocks 2007: 150.

³⁵ Powell 2011: 469. ³⁶ Powell 2011: 474. ³⁷ Powell 2011: 478.

³⁸ Szemerényi 1996: 247–8. The Latin form imperative *ī* in **-tōd* originally shows a final *-d*, as in Oscan and Greek. In later texts, and in the modernised spelling of the Twelve Tables, the final *-d* is lost.

site.³⁹ The Lapis Niger also contains the verb *esed*, which may represent an earlier form of the Latin future *erit* or an imperfect subjunctive *esset*, either of which could also be used to express a prescription.

Although the imperfect subjunctive + infinitive and the imperative in **-tōd* are the two main possibilities for Latin prescriptions, a variety of forms can be used. For example, the final section of the *SC de Bacchanalibus*, which contains instructions to the community as to how they should set up the text and was inscribed in error after the text of the *senatus consultum* itself, shows the use of *utei* + second-person plural present subjunctive verbs.⁴⁰ This usage is another example of the language of officialdom, although this syntax is not found in the legal text itself. In *leges* the most common usage is the singular of the imperative in **-tōd*, but Cicero (*De Legibus*) tends to use the plural, thinking perhaps of all the inhabitants of a community.⁴¹ There is also occasional use of the future indicative in legal contexts with the force of a command.⁴² The *lex/senatus consultum* syntactic divide is also not absolute. It is possible for *leges* to use indirect constructions rather than the imperative, including *oportet* ‘it is necessary’, *necesse est* ‘it is necessary’, and *nefas est* ‘it is unlawful’.⁴³ It is also possible to find examples of the imperative II in edicts and *senatus consulta*.⁴⁴

The Latin and Greek examples above show the cultural background against which Oscan legal language developed. Evidence from both Rome and Greek-speaking communities shows how a single speech community such as Rome could develop a ‘legalese’ style of language that was syntactically

³⁹ Morandi 1978: 90; Prosdocimi 1979: 208; Vine 1991.

⁴⁰ We might compare the use of the subjunctive in *CIL* 1² 584.41 *iduti facere liceat*, and the use of present subjunctive *uelit* in, for example, *CIL* 1² 591. Courtney 1999: 10; Poccetti 2009a: 196. Also compare the use of second-person plural and first-person plural verbs in the *Ad Tiburtes*, c. 159 BC (*ILLRP* 512), informing a community about a senatorial decision relating to them.

⁴¹ Powell 2005: 127. ⁴² E.g. in the *Lex Acilia Repetundarum*, 123–2 BC, line 9.

⁴³ These kinds of indirect constructions can be found in the *Lex Iulia Municipalis*, also known as the *Tabulae Heracleenses*, 45 BC. Poccetti 2009a: 182.

⁴⁴ For example, the imperative II is used in the *SC Orphitiumum* of AD 178, as quoted by Ulpian. Daube 1956: 91.

quite consistent, even though there were other possible ways of expressing the same idea. In the Greek-speaking world, we also have helpful comparative evidence of how different communities speaking the same language could prefer to write commands in different ways, each developing its own legal language. With the limited amount of Oscan material available, these comparisons can show the kinds of patterns of usage that might have existed, including regional variation and increased standardisation over time.

The Tabula Bantina

The Tabula Bantina gives us our best evidence for the syntax of commands in Oscan legal language. As already mentioned, the Tabula Bantina (Lu 1/Bantia 1, Bantia, c. 90 BC) is a rich source of borrowings from Latin into Oscan legal language. Unlike most other Oscan texts from the South Oscan area, it is also written in the Latin alphabet. However, the syntax of commands is an important way in which the legal language of Bantia differs systematically from that of Rome. The verbs of the Tabula Bantina follow a clear pattern, where the positive commands are in the imperative Π and the prohibitions, introduced by *ni* ‘not’ or *nep* ‘and not’, are in the perfect subjunctive.

This pattern of positive imperative Π and negative perfect subjunctives in legal commands is not found in Latin or Umbrian.⁴⁵ In Latin examples, the variation between imperative and subjunctive is not dependent on whether the prescription is negative or positive.⁴⁶ Because of the near-perfect regularity of the commands in the Tabula Bantina, this is commonly seen as a way in which Oscan as a whole diverged from Italic usage.⁴⁷ However, there is no reason why the Tabula Bantina should be representative of all Oscan legal language, since it

⁴⁵ Umbrian uses the imperative Π in both positive and negative prescriptions.

⁴⁶ It is primarily in legal (or mock-legal) texts that the imperative Π appears in the negative in Latin. Elsewhere, phrases such as *noli / nolite* + infinitive or *oportet ne* + present subjunctive are used as the unmarked negative equivalent of the positive imperative in *-*tōd*. See Poccetti (2009a) 185.

⁴⁷ Poccetti 2009a: 185, 195.

represents the legal language of only one community. It is also a very late text, and its regularity may be the result of late standardisation of Oscan legal language. The verb forms in the Tabula Bantina relevant to this discussion are listed below by line number.

Lu 1 (Bantia 1), Tabula Bantina, Bantia, c. 90 BC. Latin alphabet

1. ... <i>licitud</i> ...	it-is-allowed-IMP.Π
5. <i>deiuatud</i> .	swear-IMP.Π
8. <i>ni hipid</i> .	not have-3.SING.PERF.SUBJ.
9–10. <i>factud</i> ... <i>nep fefacid</i> .	do-IMP.Π ... and-not do-3. SING.PERF.SUBJ.
12. <i>estud</i> .	be-IMP.Π
13. <i>licitud</i> .	it-is-allowed-IMP.Π
14. <i>ni hipid</i> .	not have-3.SING.PERF.SUBJ.
15. <i>actud</i>	act-IMP.Π
17. <i>ni hipid</i> .	not have-3.SING.PERF.SUBJ.
18. <i>licitud</i> ... <i>licitud</i> .	it-is-allowed-IMP.Π ... it-is-allowed- IMP.Π
19. <i>censamur</i>	undergo-a-census-3.SING. IMP.PASS. ⁴⁸
21. <i>lamatir</i> ...	?-3.SING.PRES.SUBJ.PASS.? ⁴⁹
22–3. <i>amiricatud</i> ... <i>estud</i> .	sell-IMP.Π ... be-IMP.Π
25. <i>nep pruhpid</i> .	and-not prevent-3.SING.PERF.SUBJ.
26. <i>estud</i> .	be-IMP.Π
26–7. <i>licitud</i> ... <i>licitud</i> .	it-is-allowed-IMP.Π ... it-is-allowed. IMP.Π
28. [<i>ni pis</i>] <i>fuid</i> ... <i>nep</i> ... <i>fuid</i> ...	[not anyone] be-3.SING.PERF.SUBJ. and-not be-3.SING.PERF.SUBJ.

⁴⁸ Buck 1928: 155.

⁴⁹ If *lamatir* (line 21) is a present subjunctive passive, as believed by Meiser and Untermann, then it is exceptional in this text, not least because it seems to be coordinated with normal imperatives (*amiricatud*... *estud*, 22–3). If this interpretation is correct, it could show the use of an alternative form for a command. Other scholars, including von Planta, Buck, Vetter and Pocetti, have seen *lamatir* as a perfect subjunctive, with the perfect marker *-tt-*. This is the interpretation preferred by Pocetti, on the basis that perfect subjunctives can be used in Oscan for positive commands, notably in forms such as **sakrafir** in the iúvila texts of Capua. However, **sakrafir** is now more usually considered to be a present passive infinitive (from a proto-Sabellian form **-fiē*, cf. Umbrian *-f(e)i*, ultimately from a Proto-Indo-European instrumental ending **-dʰiēh₁*), which weakens Pocetti's argument. (García Ramón 1993: 117–19 demonstrates how an infinitive may derive from an instrumental using a parallel from Vedic.) It would also be very unusual to have a perfect subjunctive coordinated with a string of imperative Π forms; therefore this form remains controversial. Von Planta 1892: 308, 367; Buck 1928: 172; Vetter 1953: 409; Meiser 1992: 303; García Ramón 1993; Untermann 2000: 426; Pocetti 2009a: 196.

Commands and prohibitions

29. <i>ni fuid</i>	not be-PERF.SUBJ.
30. <i>estud.</i>	be-IMP.Π
34. <i>ni fuid...</i>	not be-PERF.SUBJ.
36. <i>licitud.</i>	it-is-allowed-IMP.Π
38. <i>estud.</i>	be-IMP.Π
A5. <i>licitud.</i>	it-is-allowed-IMP.Π
A9. <i>spentud.</i>	?-IMP.Π

To decide whether or not the Tabula Bantina represents the syntax of commands used across South Oscan, or across Oscan as a whole, we need to turn to the evidence of other texts.

Lu 62 (Buxentum 1)

The Roccagloriosa text (Lu 62; [Figures 19, 20](#)) is fragmentary, and probably represents less than a sixth of the whole tablet. The text is fairly clear in most places, and can be read with relative ease. The straight side of the fragment is the bottom

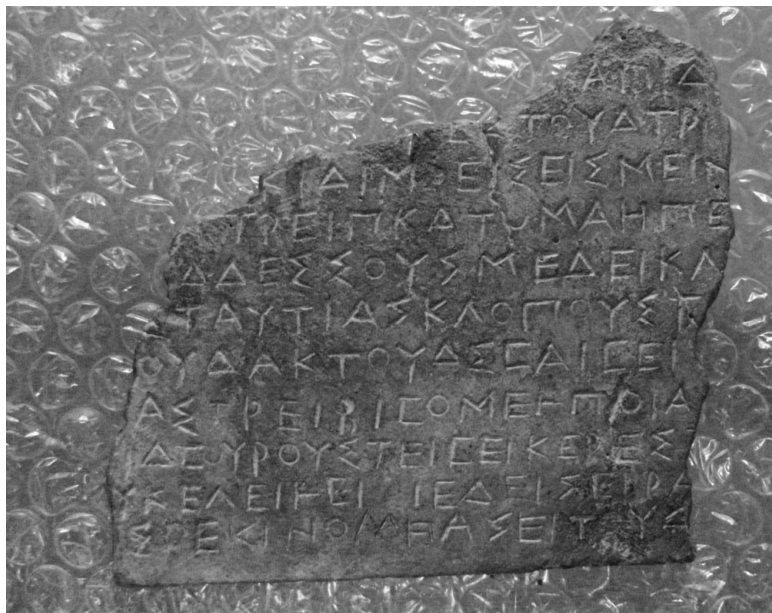


Figure 19 Lu 62 (Buxentum 1), Side A. Author's photo, 11/04/2012. With thanks to the Soprintendenza di Salerno

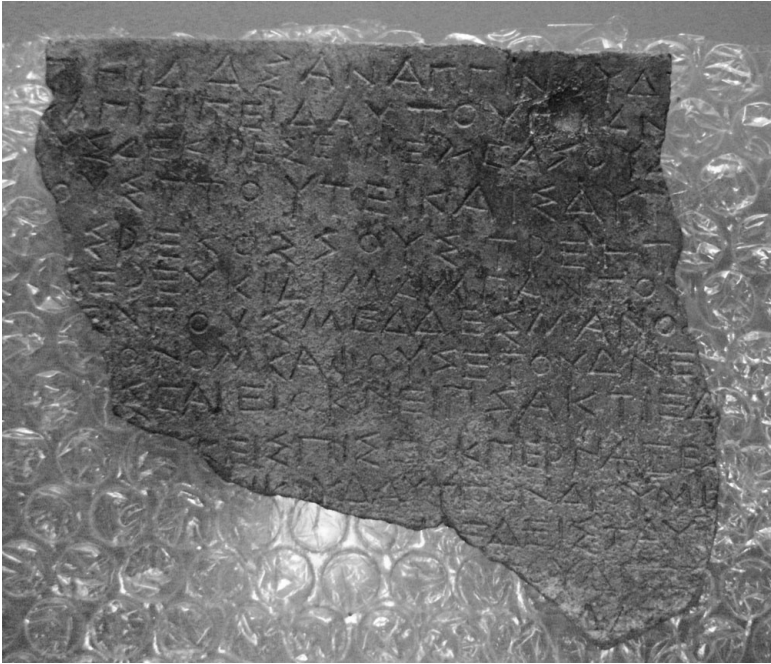


Figure 20 Lu 62 (Buxentum 1), Side B. Author's photo, 11/04/2012. With thanks to the Soprintendenza di Salerno

of side A, and the top of side B. The text would probably have been carved by a relatively experienced engraver, though there are a number of corrections and omitted letters. The most interesting error, which appears to be a correction, is the word (τ)αναγγινουδ, 'by decision', for **tanginúđ**. This spelling has already been mentioned in [Chapter 3](#), and appears to reflect a familiarity with Greek orthography. The writer seems to have started to write <vγ>, which would be the normal Oscan spelling, but then corrects to the standard Greek spelling <γγ>.⁵⁰ This small correction is the only clear Greek influence on this text.

The surviving fragment does not contain any complete sentences, and accurately reconstructing the syntax of the

⁵⁰ Poccetti and Gualtieri 2001: 233; Zair 2013: 223.

Commands and prohibitions

commands is not straightforward. The text shows verbs of three kinds: imperative Π , perfect subjunctive and future (mainly future perfect). We will assume here that the future verbs each belong to the protasis of a conditional sentence, and not to the main verbs of the commands. The remaining verbs fall into a clear pattern, as shown in the relevant underlined forms below.

Lu 62 (Buxentum 1), Roccagloriosa, c. 300 BC. South Oscan alphabet.

- | | | |
|------|--|---------------------------------------|
| A1. | [-?- ποκ]καπιδ [-?-] | |
| A2. | [-?-] εστουδ τρι[οπερτ -?-] | be-IMP. Π |
| A3. | [-?- σερευ]κιδιμο εισεις μειν[-?-] | |
| A4. | [-?-]τ̄ τρειπκατομ αηπε[-?-] | |
| A5. | [-?- με]δδεσ <εσ> σουφ μεδεικα[τεν -?-] | |
| A6. | [-?- ου]στ̄ αυτ̄ ιαfk <κ>λοπουστ̄ [-?-] | |
| A7. | [-?-]ουδ ακτουδ σφαῑ φεῑ [-?-] | IMP. Π ? ACT.IMP. Π |
| A8. | [-?-]ασ̄ τρειβιφομ̄ εη̄ ποια[δ̄ -?-] | |
| A9. | [-?-]ιδ̄ φουρουστ̄ ειφεικ̄ (h)ερεστ̄ [-?-] | |
| A10. | [-?- πο]υκελ̄ ειηειοῑ εδεῑ φειρα[-?-] | |
| A11. | [-?- ισ̄] ρεκινομ̄ <u>ηαφειτουδ̄</u> [-?-] | have-IMP. Π |
| | | |
| B1. | [-?- νει]π̄ ηιδ̄<α>σ̄ τ̄{αν}αγγινουδ̄ [-?-] | |
| B2. | [-?- ποκ]καπιδ̄ (<u>h</u>)ιππειδ̄ αυτ̄ ουπιδ̄ ν[-?-] | have-PERF.SUBJ. or choose?-PERF.SUBJ. |
| B3. | [-?-]ουσ̄ δεκιρεσ̄ εινεμ̄ φαφουσ̄[τ̄ -?-] | |
| B4. | [-?-]ουστ̄ τουτεικαισ̄ αυτ̄ [-?-] | |
| B5. | [-?- π̄]ισ̄ ρεκοσ̄ φουστ̄ ρεητ̄[ε -?-] | |
| B6. | [-?-] σερευκιδιμαμ̄ παντου[δ̄ -?-] | |
| B7. | [-?- μεδεικατ̄]εν̄ πουσ̄ μεδδεσ̄ μανομ̄ [-?-] | |
| B8. | [-?-]κονομ̄ {κα} <u>ιουφετουδ̄</u> νε[ιπ̄ -?-] | order-IMP. Π |
| B9. | [-?-] σφαῑ ειok̄ νειπ̄ <u>φακτιεδ̄</u> [-?-] | not do?-PERF.SUBJ.? |
| B10. | [-?-]υκεισ̄ πισ̄ ειok̄ περναφ̄εσ̄[-?-] | |
| B11. | [-?- τουτ̄]εικουδ̄ αυτ̄ πονδιουμ̄ ε[-?-] | |
| B12. | [-?-]ι[ι]εδ̄ειστ̄ αυτ̄ [-?-] | |
| B13. | [-?-]τουδ̄ εστ̄[ουδ̄ -?-] | |
| B14. | [-?-] <u>τουδ̄</u> | IMP. Π ? |

Translation

- A1. ...whatever ...
 ...is to be three times ...
 ...the priesthood of that ? ...
 ...???
5. ...the meddix himself in his meddixship ...
 ...he will have ? or he will have stolen them ...

- ...he is to ? and he is to act if ?...
 ...building ? from which kind...
 ...he will have found or he will want ?...
 10. ...the son ???...
 ...? he is to hold...
 B1. ...not by decision of the ?...
 ...anything he should have or choose ?...
 ...and he will have ???...
 ...and he will have ? from the public (things) or...
 5. ...if anyone will have been assigned rightly...
 ...in the priesthood, by however much...
 ...in his meddixship on whom the meddix [has laid ?] his hand...
 ...? he is to order not...
 ...if he may not ? those...
 10. ...? anyone those ?...
 ...from the public (thing) or of weights...
 ...? or...
 ...he is to ? (and) he is to be ?...
 ...the meddix...

The majority of the commands appear to be in the imperative. The verbs in A2 and B13 are not completely visible. The first word of A7 may not be a verb at all, but if it is a verb it could be an imperative coordinating with $\alpha\kappa\tau\omicron\upsilon\delta$. In A2, $\langle\epsilon\rangle$ and $\langle\sigma\rangle$ are not completely clear on the bronze, but the reading $\epsilon\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon\delta$ was proposed by Poccetti and has been accepted since by Rix and Crawford.⁵¹

The only verb in the text with a negative clearly directly preceding it could be in the perfect subjunctive ($\phi\alpha\kappa\tau\iota\epsilon\delta$, B9). The use of negative + perfect subjunctive prompts comparisons with the Tabula Bantina, where all negative commands are in the perfect subjunctive. However, we should be cautious in interpreting this as a parallel to the usage of the Tabula Bantina for two reasons. First, it is not at all clear that this verb is a perfect subjunctive.⁵² Since we already have the Oscan

⁵¹ Tocco 2000; Poccetti and Gualtieri 2001: 211; Rix 2002: 125; Crawford 2011b: 1329.

⁵² Poccetti justifies this formation as a perfect from $*eh_1-$, with $-t-$ as a perfect-tense marker, though this formation does not have any clear parallels. Although he suggests that this also could possibly be a present tense from a verb with a present-tense root $f\bar{a}-k-t(i)-$, he states that the perfect subjunctive form would also require less correction, perhaps modification to $\phi\alpha\kappa\tau\iota\{\epsilon\}\delta$, than a present, which should be $\phi\alpha\kappa\tau\iota\alpha\delta$ or $\phi\alpha\kappa\tau\iota\alpha\epsilon\iota\delta$. Poccetti and Gualtieri 2001: 253.

perfect subjunctive *fefacid* in the Tabula Bantina, it is possible but unlikely that $\text{f}\alpha\kappa\tau\iota\epsilon\delta$ is also a perfect subjunctive of the same verb. The tense and mood intended here therefore remain unclear. This may be a spelling error, or even perhaps a blending of more than one form.⁵³

Second, and more importantly, this verb probably belongs to the protasis of the conditional because of the ‘if’ that almost immediately precedes it. This means that this verb is not the main verb of the sentence, and it is not a negative command. If $\text{f}\alpha\kappa\tau\iota\epsilon\delta$ were not part of the conditional clause, then we would have to assume an ellipsis of the verb in the protasis, so that the meaning of the sentence would be ‘if (he does) these things, he should not . . .’ However, there is a lack of comparanda for this kind of brevity in Oscan legal texts. Therefore, although the pattern of subjunctives and imperatives is at first sight reminiscent of the Tabula Bantina, we cannot absolutely confirm that Lu 62 follows the same pattern based on whether the verbs are negative or positive. Equally, we cannot demonstrate that a completely different set of syntactic rules was used.

Central and North Oscan legal texts

Although the Tabula Bantina and the Roccagloriosa bronze are two of the longest legal inscriptions in Oscan, and the only two that seem to deal with secular procedural law, there are other Oscan texts of a legal nature. These may shed further light on the possible syntax of commands in legalistic language. The Agnone Tablet, for example, mainly describes in the present tense the altars that exist at a particular site, but it also contains some verbs that could be interpreted as prescriptions.

The use of the present indicative in line 23 suggests a purely descriptive tone, but the use of the present subjunctive in line 21 indicates that this verb has the force of a command. It is possible, though, that these are different spellings of the same

⁵³ See perhaps as a comparandum the blending of the imperative and present subjunctive in the verb forms of the Latin Lex Lucerina, explained as morphological borrowing from Oscan. Wallace 1988: 213; Adams 2003: 120 n. 43.

verb form, with vowel hiatus marked by <H> in **saka(ra)híter** but with the **í** elided in **sakarater**. If this is the case, the text is still an important example of the use of the present tense for prescriptions.

Sa 1 (Teruentum 34), Agnone (Samnium) c. 200–150 BC. Central Oscan alphabet

A17–19. **saahtúm. tefúrúm. alttreí. pútereípíd. akenei. saka(ra)híter.**

A20–21. **fiuusasiaís. az. húrtúm. sakarater.**

Translation

A17–19: sacred-NOM. burnt-offering-NOM. other-LOC. each-LOC.
year-LOC. sacrifice-PRES.SUBJ.PASS.

A20–21: Floralia-DAT. next-to grove-ACC. sacrifice-PRES.INDIC.PASS.

A17–19: A sacred burnt-offering every other year is to be sacrificed.

A20–21: For the Floralia, next to the grove, there is (to be) a sacrifice.

The use of the present subjunctive for commands in a religious/legal context is also found in a Marrucinian inscription from the north, which it is worth quoting in full. In MV 1, as well as the use of the present subjunctive for prayers to the gods (*pacrsi* ‘may it be favourable’), we also appear to have the present subjunctive used in a prohibition (*ni ta[g]a nipsis* ‘let no one take’).⁵⁴ We might characterise these sentences as prayers rather than commands to explain the verb form used, but note that this text is explicitly described as a *lixs* ‘law’. The other prescriptions in this text seem to be in the present indicative, describing the rite that happens rather than prescribing its nature, as we saw in the Agnone Tablet.

MV 1 (Teate Marrucinatorum 2), Rapino (Marrucini), 250–225 BC?

Latin alphabet.

1. *aisos pacris totai*
maroucai lixs
assignas ferenter.
aiuiatas toutai.
5. *maroucai. ioues.*
patres ocres tarin-
cr<e>s iouias. agine

⁵⁴ Untermann 2000: 729.

Commands and prohibitions

- iafc esuc agine asum*
babu polfenis feret
 10. *regen[ei] pioi cer<ei>. iouia<i>.*
pacrsi. eituam am{.}aten-
s uenalinam. ni ta/g la. nipsis. ped-
i. suam

Translation (adapted from Crawford 2011b)

(May) the gods (be) favourable. For the Maroucan people, a lex. The portions of flesh are brought (PRES.INDIC.PASS.), judged propitious for the Maroucan people by the pronouncement of Jupiter of the Tarincrine Mount and of Jouia. At their pronouncement the babu Polenis brings (PRES.INDIC.) these to burn to Regens Pius, Ceres Iouia. May it be favourable (PRES.SUBJ.). They have taken (?) (PERF.INDIC.) the money from the sale (of leftovers). Let no one take (?) (PRES.SUBJ.) except insofar as (?) someone takes his own.

A further legalistic text available in Oscan is the treaty between Nola and Abella, which also deals with religious matters to some extent. This text is formed as an agreement, with a verb of deciding in the indicative plus subjunctives. The syntax is therefore similar in some respects to a Latin *senatus consultum*.

Cippus Abellanus, Cm 1 (Abella 1). Abella/Nola (Campania), second century BC. Central Oscan alphabet.

A10. ekss. kúmbened.	thus it-is-agreed-PERF.INDIC.
A19. fusíd	be-3.SING.IMPERF.SUBJ.
A23. [fus]íd	be-3.SING.IMPERF.SUBJ.
B10–11. likítud	it-is-allowed-IMP.11
B14. estud	be-IMP.11
B18. estud	be-IMP.11
B20–2. nep... nep... tribarakat{.}tíns	and not... and not... build-3.PL.PERF.SUBJ.
B25. patensíns	open-3.PL.IMPERF.SUBJ.
B28. [f]erríns	carry-3.PL.IMPERF.SUBJ.
B30. íst	be-3.SING.PRES.INDIC.
B32. staíet	stand-PRES.INDIC.

This text presents its prescriptions in a variety of different ways. It begins with an indicative verb of deciding, **ekss. kúmbened...** **puz** ‘thus it was agreed... that...’ The following

two verbs in the imperfect subjunctive are the commands. The syntax appears similar to a Latin *senatus consultum*, though the introductory formula **ekss. kúmbened. puz** recalls the Greek (τῆ βουλῆ) ἔδοξε, which is also impersonal.⁵⁵

The text then moves out of indirect speech and states the commands in the imperative.⁵⁶ In lines B20–2, there is a prohibition in the perfect subjunctive, **nep. abellanús. nep. núvlanús. píđum tribarakattíns**, ‘neither the Abellans nor the Nolans are to build anything’. In this section, the text therefore shows a pattern like the Tabula Bantina, with the positives in the imperative and negatives in the perfect subjunctive.⁵⁷ The indirect speech then recommences, so that the next two verbs are in the imperfect subjunctive again.

The final two verbs, however, seem to express their prescriptions – that the surrounding road must be ten feet wide, and that the boundary markers stand at the mid-point of the road – in the present indicative. We have seen this kind of usage in the Agnone Tablet and MV 1 above, both of which also deal with religious matters. The use of the present describes the current situation and implicitly orders that it should continue without change.

Finally, a text on bronze associated with Velletri (VM 2).⁵⁸ This text features two explicit commands, both in the imperative II. The text is framed with two verbs of deciding, *statom* (perfect participle passive) and *sistiatiens* (perfect indicative). Despite the use of these verbs of deciding, the rest of the text is not in indirect speech.

VM 2 (*Velitrae* 1). *Velletri (Latium)*, c 275. *Latin alphabet*

deue: declune: statom: sepis: atahus: pis: uelestrom [^{vac}]
fačia: esaristrom: se: bim: asif: uesclis: uinu: arpatitu
sepis: toticu: couehriu: sepu: ferom: pihom: estu [^{vac}]
ec: se: cosuties: ma: ca: tafanies: medix: sistiatiens [^{vac}]

⁵⁵ Poccetti 2009a: 183. ⁵⁶ Dupraz 2012b: 97.

⁵⁷ Poccetti states incorrectly that the imperative II is absent from this text, and that there is therefore a consistent contrast being made between positive commands in the subjunctive and a prohibition in the perfect subjunctive. Poccetti 2009a: 195.

⁵⁸ The text is usually associated with Velletri, but its place of manufacture is not known. Crawford 2011b: 340.

Translation (adapted from Crawford 2011b)

Decided (PERF.PASS.PART.) for the goddess Decluna. If anyone shall have taken who may make a ???, it should be a (case of) *piaculum*; he is to provide (IMP.Π) an ox, roasted portions, with vessels and wine. If anyone (shall have taken) with the approval of the public assembly, the removal (?) is to be (IMP.Π) not irreligious. Eg(nats) Cosutiis, son of Se., and Ma(ras?) Tafaniis, son of Ga(vis), meddices, decided (PERF.INDIC.).

In Oscan as a whole, therefore, we seem to have a variety of verb forms used to express commands in a legal context. We have two ‘sacred’ legal texts from the North and Central Oscan-speaking area (Sa 1, MV 1), which show the use of the present subjunctive for commands among other forms. We also have two ‘secular’ legal texts from the South Oscan area (Tabula Bantina, Lu 62), which both show the use of imperative Π for commands, one of which (TB) also shows the perfect subjunctive for prohibitions. In addition we have one treaty relating to religious matters from the Central Oscan area (Cm 1), which uses the indirect speech method (PERF.INDIC.: IMPERF.SUBJ.) of expressing prescriptions, interspersed with some use of the positive imperative/negative perfect subjunctive system. We also have a further religious law associated with Latium (VM 2) that uses the imperative Π. Should we view this variation as genre-based, regional or neither?

We could suggest, for example, that sacred laws tended to use the present subjunctive, while secular laws dealing with procedure used the imperative Π/perfect subjunctive. This difference could relate to the source of the authority behind the law: divine sanction vs. the assembly or senate. Alternatively, there could have been a different generalisation of the syntax of legal commands in different areas, such that the South Oscan area in Lucania developed different norms from communities further north, with some Campanian texts such as the Cippus Abellanus showing a mixture of syntactic styles. We have already seen in previous chapters that the South Oscan area shows evidence of regionalisms in style in the development of a specialised verb of dedication, and in the development of the NOM. (VERB) ACC. format in curse texts. It is therefore plausible that regionalism might exist here as well.

With the evidence currently available, we cannot confirm why this variation exists. However, we can show that it seems to operate in terms of preferences, rather than absolutes. The possible use of the present subjunctive or perfect subjunctive for the positive command *lamatir* in the Tabula Bantina and the use of several different syntactic systems in the Cippus Abellanus suggest that there was not complete rigidity of style in Oscan legal commands.

The Tortora cippus

The Tortora cippus (Figure 21) was found in June 1991 reused in the wall of a modern building, about 150m from a late archaic necropolis.⁵⁹ It is now generally agreed to be a legal text,⁶⁰ although Colonna took it to be a funerary inscription.⁶¹ This text is not in Oscan, but in the related ‘Pre-Samnite’ language that appears to have been used in the region before Oscan. A short discussion of the legal language of this text is included here since it is a Sabellian inscription from the South Oscan area, and is indicative of early Greek/Sabellian interaction in the area.

Inscriptions like this, inscribed on several sides so that they have to stand in a central position in a space, seem to have come to Italy from the Greek world. They are particularly characteristic of mainland Greece and the Aegean rather than the Greek settlements of Italy.⁶² Some of the earliest Greek inscribed laws, other than those in Crete, are tall, thin and tapering, much like marker stones.⁶³ For example, the cippus of Chios (*LSAG* 343.41) has a similar form, as do two cippi of Cleon inscribed with religious statutes on the Argolid. All of these examples are from approximately the mid-sixth century BC.⁶⁴ This kind of tall, tapered cippus is much rarer in the Italian tradition, although there are a few similar examples, such as the cippus of the Lapis Niger in the Roman forum and a South Picene

⁵⁹ Lazzarini and Poccetti 2001: 12.

⁶⁰ Lazzarini and Poccetti 2001; Crawford 2011b: 1339.

⁶¹ Colonna 2001: 244–5. ⁶² Lazzarini and Poccetti 2001: 25.

⁶³ Thomas 1994: 40. ⁶⁴ Lazzarini and Poccetti 2001: 26.

The Tortora cippus

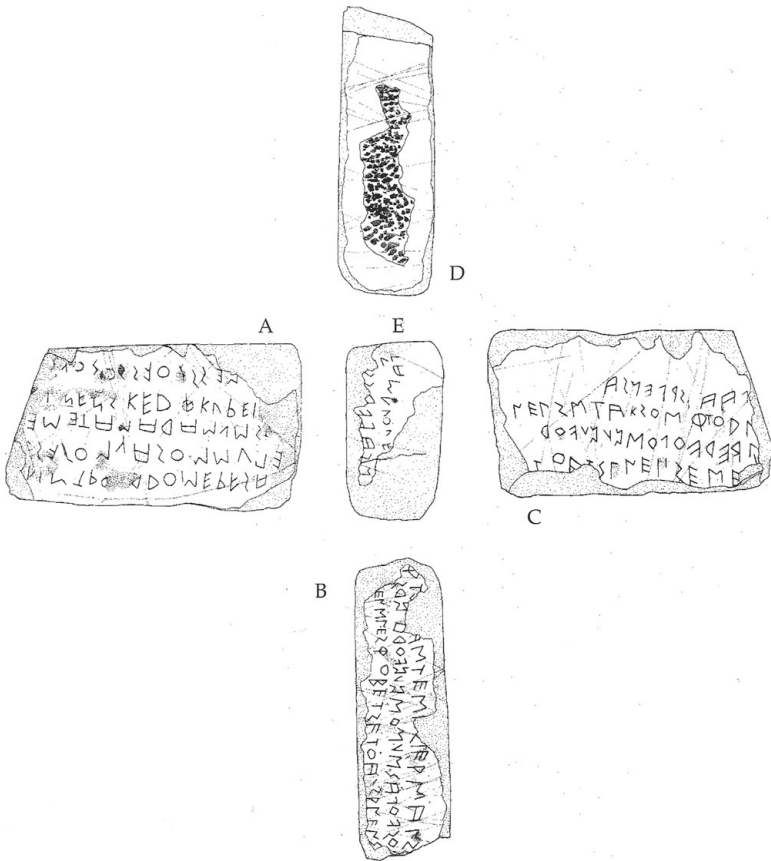


Figure 21 Ps 20 (Blanda 1). Drawing provided by P. Poccetti

cippus from Cures (Sp RI 1/Cures 1).⁶⁵ The similarity of form and function suggests a Greek model for Ps 20, as well as perhaps for some early Roman legal texts, but this idea should be treated cautiously.⁶⁶

The Tortora text is written in an adapted Achaean Greek script. The alphabet is that of the Achaean settlements of Italy, characterised by the use of san for /s/ and the three-stroke

⁶⁵ Lazzarini and Poccetti 2001: 27.

⁶⁶ Crawford suggests specifically Ionian contacts as providing the models, despite the use of Achaean script in the Tortora text. Crawford 2011a.

iota.⁶⁷ The sign for /f/ is a ‘mezza farfalla stilizzata’, which is quite unusual (see [Chapter 3](#)). The use of boustrophedon and the shape of the letters, taken together with the use of the regional Achaean rather than the Ionic alphabet, suggests a date of the end of the sixth to the beginning of the fifth century. The use of qoppa, which began to be lost from Greek alphabets in the middle of the sixth century, suggests a similar date. A date around 500 BC puts the Tortora text among the oldest of all the extant Italic inscriptions. The text is transcribed below. The words of the text discussed in this section are underlined.

*Tortora cippus, Ps 20 (Blanda 1). Tortora (Lucania), c. 500 BC. Achaean Greek alphabet (adapted).*⁶⁸

- A1. [3]λνει ι^[vac]οφιιοι [1]υ[-?]
 A2. [-?]-φει^[vac]κεδ υκυρ εγ [φο]
 A3. [λα]ισυμαδ αματεσ ε[-?]
 A4. υε πυσμοι αυγου^[vac] ι[-?]
 A5. [-?]-ντρο[2]δ οσερφια[δ -?]
 B1. [3]ενσ λει φοβετιφο αχιρνευι[α -?]
 B2. [-?]-οι φολαισυμοσ φυφοδ. ^[vac]φρι^[vac]
 B3. γτο[το] αστ εσμι τερμανι[ιυ -?]
 C1. ^[vac]τοφτια νε πιεσ ε[-?]
 C2. [-?]-ορεδ φολοσ φυφοδ^{vacat}
 C3. νε πιστακιοσ γτοδ υε [-?]
 C4. [-?]-α α[χ]ιρνευια^{vacat}
 D – uninscribed
 E1. [3-4]υ!α πεδιι[1-2]υ
 E2. λαμλυσου[-?]

There are two possible instances of the imperative in *-tōd in this text, though both are controversial. In B2–3, the final portion of the line is οφρι-, or φρι- if Crawford is right that the circle is an interpunct marking the end of a clause.⁶⁹ It is probable that this word carries on onto the next line, particularly since the sequence /kt/, found at the beginning of the next line is not usually allowed word-initially in Italic.⁷⁰ It is tempting to see

⁶⁷ Lazzarini and Poccetti 2001: 30.

⁶⁸ Reading by Crawford. Crawford 2011b: 1337.

⁶⁹ Crawford 2011b: 1338. ⁷⁰ Lazzarini and Poccetti 2001: 139.

this word as an imperative in **-tōd*, assuming syncope of the thematic vowel as in Oscan *actud* < **ag-e-tōd*. On the basis of this assumption, Lazzarini and Poccetti have made a number of suggestions as to the etymology.⁷¹

However, the temptation to see this sequence as an imperative in **-tōd* may not be correct. Crawford supplies *-ʔto[το]*, on the basis of the number of letters needed to fill the lacuna.⁷² Since the next word is *αστ*, ‘but’, a perfectly good Sabellian word on its own, it seems that the word used here is not an imperative *π* because of the need for more letters after *-ʔto* to fill the lacuna. This is not an entirely conclusive argument, since the text has numerous small gaps. However, it does throw doubt on identifying the word as an imperative.

In C₃, the correct word division seems to be *νε πισ τακιοσφοδ*, which looks very much like a negative prescription using the imperative *π*. If this is the case, then it goes against the pattern we find in Oscan, where we never find negative + imperative *π*, and instead matches the usage in Latin. However, the identification of the verb in this line is very doubtful. The verb in C₃ has been identified as an imperative in **-tōd*, though the meaning and formation of the word remain unclear. Again, Lazzarini and Poccetti and others have made some suggestions for possible interpretations including ‘steal’, ‘destroy’, ‘touch’ and ‘set up’.⁷³ In terms of semantics, many of the suggestions

⁷¹ The original form could be **ofri(?)k-e-tōd* or **ofri(?)g-e-tōd*; we might see a pre-verb **op-* here, making the reconstructed form **op-fri(?)k/g-e-tōd*. Possible parallels in Umbrian are *frehtef*, *frehtu* (both of unknown meaning and etymology) and *frif* ‘fruits, crops’. The latter comes from **b^hreuHg-*, like Latin *fruges*, *fruor*, so we would have to assume a common change in Umbrian and the language of this inscription of *ū > i*. Alternatively, Lazzarini and Poccetti suggest that there could be another letter, such as a nasal, lost at the end of the line B2. This gives a further possible root **b^hreg-*, Latin *frango* ‘break’, with a nasal infix. Lazzarini and Poccetti 2001: 144–8.

⁷² Crawford 2011b: 1337.

⁷³ This form would show syncope of the thematic vowel, and a suffix *-ske/o-*, found in various other Indo-European languages with various meanings. There are two possibilities for the uncertain third letter: <ι> or <κ> (Crawford prefers <κ>). In the first case, the verb could be from a root **teh₂-* ‘steal’, cf. the Duenos vase *ne med malos tatod*, ‘a bad person must not steal me’. With a kappa, Lazzarini and Poccetti suggest that it could be derived from the same root, with a *-k-* affix, or it could be from the root **teh₂k-*, found in Greek *τήκομαι*, ‘mould, liquefy, destroy’. Another suggested connection is to the root **teh₂g-* ‘touch’, Latin *tango*; this assumes that

that have been made are plausible. However, no convincing etymology or clear explanation of the derivation of this word has yet been put forward. The clause remains problematic, though it is tempting to think that here we have yet another variation on the syntax of commands used in Sabellian legal language.

Conclusions

Phenomena deriving from contact with Greek are less common in South Oscan legal texts than in other genres. The late date of the Tabula Bantina and the political situation in which it arose mean that Latin influence is a much more important feature in this text. However, the older tradition of South Oscan and ‘Pre-Samnite’ legal texts represented by Lu 62 and Ps 20 shows hints that Greek was an influence on the earlier stages of the development of Sabellian law in form, orthography and content. Since the number of legal texts in Greek from Italy is very small, it is possible that the models seen by Sabellian-speakers were on less durable materials such as wood, or that they had seen or heard of more durable materials being used further afield. At the current state of the evidence, the role of contact with Greek can only be a matter of speculation, though it is historically highly plausible that contact had an effect. We must also keep in mind the likelihood of an Italic legal *koine*, which means that apparently Latinate features in Oscan legal texts may have developed in parallel with the Latin legal tradition rather than being borrowed later.

There is no strong evidence of Oscan-speakers deliberately selecting Greek loanwords or Greek ‘extra’ characters for use in legal texts. Again, the evidence is slight. It is possible that the double-gamma spelling mentioned in [Chapter 3](#) represents

the kappa could represent /g/, given that no gamma appears in the inscription. A further possibility put forward by Lazzarini and Poccetti is that there could be haplology of an /s/, and what might have been intended was $\nu\epsilon \pi\iota\sigma < \sigma > \tau\alpha.10\sigma\eta\tau\omicron\delta$, which opens up the new possibility of the root *steh₂- ‘stand, put, set up’. Martzloff has offered a further suggested interpretation, based on the word division $\nu\epsilon \pi\iota\sigma (\sigma)\tau\alpha\kappa\iota\omicron(i) (\omicron)\sigma\eta\tau\omicron\delta$ (assuming a haplology) with a verb < **obesketōd*, cf. Latin *obescet*. Lazzarini and Poccetti 2001: 174–9; Martzloff 2007: 183; Crawford 2011b: 1338.

Conclusions

such a choice in Lu 62, but the 'correction' to double gamma seems more likely to be indicative of biliteracy rather than deliberate borrowing from Greek. This evidence contributes to our overall picture of how linguistic and graphic borrowing from Greek was used in the South Oscan area. As we have already seen, it is likely that borrowing from Greek was felt to be appropriate to certain genres rather than others. If legal texts were linked strongly to local identity and tradition, and Oscan legal language had a history stretching back into pre-alphabetic times, then words of Oscan origin would have been considered the appropriate choice. As the power and prestige of Rome grew, however, closer convergence with Latin legal language was permitted.

OFFICIAL INSCRIPTIONS, COINS, FUNERARY INSCRIPTIONS, STAMPS AND GRAFFITI

As we have already seen, there is evidence of continuing interaction and contact with Greek throughout the South Oscan corpus. [Chapter 3](#) discussed the impact on the epigraphy of South Oscan as a whole, while [Chapters 4](#) and [5](#) have shown the effect of contact phenomena on dedications and curse tablets, the two genres which are most plentiful in this corpus. We have seen that there is a clear difference between these two genres in the use of Greek borrowing, code-switching and interference. In [Chapter 6](#), we have already examined the role of contact in the development of Sabellian legal language in Lucania, for which the evidence is confined to two or three inscriptions. The differences between all of these texts do not appear to relate primarily to regional variation, or to levels of competence or literacy in different groups of writers, but to the demands of the genres themselves.

Many other genres are represented in this corpus, though some only survive in a handful of inscriptions. While the number of texts available for some of these genres is very limited, we can nevertheless view the language of these inscriptions against the background of the patterns we have already seen emerging. The remainder of the South Oscan corpus consists of a small number of official inscriptions, coin legends, funerary inscriptions, and very short inscriptions in the form of tile stamps, graffiti and dipinti. In this chapter, I will explore the evidence for Oscan/Greek contact in these genres.

Official texts

This genre includes texts which were commissioned by magistrates, public bodies or other political institutions. Some official inscriptions do not tell us the reason for their creation, but

those that do often connect themselves to the construction of public or religious buildings, the setting up of city walls or public dedications in sanctuaries. Whatever their declared purpose, official inscriptions also act as a means of self-promotion for the men named in them as the presiding magistrates or donors. The use of inscriptions to promote the community or the generosity of prominent figures is common across the ancient world, and Oscan-speakers, like Latin- and Greek-speakers, often used stone for this kind of monument. Some of the texts are public dedications to various deities, and we have discussed the majority of these already in [Chapter 4](#). A number of the remaining official inscriptions show evidence of contact with Greek, and merit further discussion here.

Lu 2 (Atina Lucana 1)

Transcription

[·-·-]σ διριος. μαραδ(ηισ). ν[·-·-]
[·-·- σενα]τηις τανγινოდ τρειβ[ωμ εκακ]
[ωπσανναμ] δεδενσ μαραηις κε[πιεσ πρωφαττεδ]

Translation

]s Dirios-NOM.PL.? Maras-GEN.SING. N[
senate-GEN.SING. decision-ABL.SING. building-ACC.SING.
[this-ACC.SING.]
[be-constructed-GDV.ACC.SING.] give-3.PL.PERF. Marahis-NOM.
Kepiis-NOM. [approve-3.SING.PERF.]
[·-·-]s Diris, son(s) of Maras, N[·-·-],
by decree of the senate gave (the contract) for [this] building
[to be constructed], Marahis Ke[piis approved (it as completed)].

This inscription was discovered in 1951 at Atina Lucana built into the top of a well, and then was lost in building works about a decade later.¹ The inscription is clearly incomplete, but opinions differ on whether there was originally a block missing on both sides,² only on the left,³ or only on the right.⁴ Lejeune characterised the inscription as a dedication text, perhaps because of the word δεδενσ ‘they gave’.⁵ However, this verb is often found in building inscriptions with no stated religious or

¹ Campanile 1992b: 207.

² Antonini 1981: 342.

³ Rix 2002: 126.

⁴ Campanile 1992b: 208–9.

⁵ Lejeune 1970: 287.

dedicatory connection, and so I have not classed this text as a dedication here.

Lejeune suggested that the name at the beginning of the first line (σ. δῖριος) could be a singular gentilicium with an ending borrowed from Greek. He further speculated that the rest of the line could read μαραδ ν[ατο], ‘born of Maras (ablative)’.⁶ While other authors have rejected the second suggestion,⁷ the possibility of a Greek morphological ending on δῖριος has not been completely dismissed. If the ending is a Greek nominative singular, then part of the missing text would have to contain at least one more personal name in the nominative, to justify the fact that the verb δεδευσ is plural.⁸

The alternative is that δῖριος is plural, and that at least two praenomina were written before it. All that can be seen before δῖριος in the photograph is part of a bottom hasta of a letter <σ>.⁹ This could be either a one-letter abbreviation for a praenomen, or the final letter of a praenomen spelled out in full. If the inscription is complete on the left-hand side, this causes a problem, since there would not be space for another praenomen or abbreviated praenomen before <σ>.¹⁰ Campanile suggests that in fact the inscription should read σ. δ. ῖριος, so that there could be two abbreviated praenomina visible without supposing a missing stone to the left.¹¹

Without the ability to examine the original inscription, this question is likely to remain unresolved, and the possibility of Greek influence on the morphological ending cannot be excluded. However, since the verb is plural and there is no other obvious Greek morphological influence on the stone, it seems most likely that δῖριος is a plural gentilicium, and that there was another stone to the left which contained the two (or more) praenomina.

⁶ Lejeune 1970: 287; Lejeune 1976: 55.

⁷ Ablative + *natus* never appears as a filiation in either Sabellian or Latin. Campanile 1992b: 212; Crawford 2011b: 1354. Lejeune also suggested μαραδ(εῖς) ν[ατο], so that the filiation read ‘born of Maras (genitive)’, but this idea has also been rejected. Crawford (2011b) 1354.

⁸ Crawford 2011b: 1354. ⁹ See Crawford for image.

¹⁰ Campanile 1992b: 208–9.

¹¹ He compares the gentilicium ῖριος to forms such as **heriēis** (Cm 14/Cumae 8) and **heri.** (tSa 13, 36/Bovianum 9). Campanile 1992b: 209–11.

Lu 12 (Potentia 2)

This small fragment of a bronze tablet, 0.03 high by 0.033 wide by 0.002 thick, was found during excavations in 1971 near the findspot of Lu 5 (Potentia 1), discussed in [Chapter 4](#). The first line is clear, and reads [-?]- προφα[τεδ -?]-, ‘approved’, referring to the approval of a building project. Lejeune read the second line as containing the word [τανυγ]νοδ, ‘by decision’.¹² The phrase ‘by decision of the senate’ is common in official and legal contexts.

However, Crawford reads [-?]- νο(μοσ) ΔΠ[-?]-, ‘15 (or 16–19) *nummi*’. He states: ‘the small ο leads us to take νο as an abbreviation; it would also be odd to have a decree (of the senate) after the passing of the work as completed; the last letter could in theory be γ, ε or Ϝ’.¹³ Neither of Crawford’s objections to Lejeune’s reading is definitive. A number of inscriptions, including Lu 5 (Potentia 1), have small omicron in some places without any particular significance, and it would not seem unusual to discuss a project being approved and then a decree of the senate if there were some change of topic between the two lines. However, if Crawford’s interpretation is correct, then it provides another example, alongside Lu 5, of the use of Greek numerals at Rossano di Vaglio in the second century BC.

Potentia 39

Transcription

επι τησ
 νυμμε-
 λου αρχησ

Translation

In the magistracy of Nummelos.

Potentia 39 was found at Serra di Vaglio, near Rossano di Vaglio. The inscription is written in Greek, and is dated to the fourth century BC. It is thought to have been erected to

¹² Lejeune 1990: 17.

¹³ Crawford 2011b: 1366.



Figure 22 Potentia 39 (reproduction). Author's photo, 16/05/12

date the fortification wall, which was constructed around that time.¹⁴

On its discovery, this inscription prompted a great deal of debate. Early discussion was centred on the inscription's use of Ionic rather than Doric Greek.¹⁵ The use of Ionic Greek seemed to exclude influence from nearby Tarentum and Metapontum, which were both still producing Doric inscriptions during the fourth century, and suggested instead influence

¹⁴ Manni Piraino 1968: 452.

¹⁵ Lejeune 1967: 210 n. 50 gives a summary of these arguments.

from Naples, where Ionic Greek was used and the term ἀρχή for ‘magistracy’ was common.¹⁶ The dating formula used here was also considered unusual: the usual Greek would be ἐπί + GEN. + ἄρχοντος, ‘in the magistracy of X’, where GEN. is the genitive of the magistrate’s name. The more unusual formula used here therefore appears to show evidence of influence from Oscan, leading to speculation that this is a translation of an Oscan dating formula. It was even suggested by Guzzo that Nummelos had erected a bilingual inscription, of which the Oscan half did not survive.¹⁷ Of course, we can still understand this inscription as a translation of an Oscan formula without a corresponding Oscan inscription ever having existed.

There are Oscan dating formulae which could provide a model for this inscription. Lejeune initially compared the formula to an inscription on a bronze helmet dated to 400–375 BC (Lu 37/Metapontum 1), which reads σὺπ μεδικίαι πο, ‘in the meddixship of Po’. Lejeune concluded that either the Greek of Potentia 39 was calqued from an Oscan formula or the Oscan of Lu 37 was calqued from a local Greek formula.¹⁸ The later discovery of another Oscan text dating a wall at Muro Lucano (Lu 4/Numistro 1) seemed to reveal a comparable formula used in an exactly parallel context to Potentia 39. This text reads μαῖς ἀρριες σουφεν μεδδικεν, ‘Mais Arries, in his magistracy’. Though the exact wording of Potentia 39 was closer to the helmet Lu 37, Lejeune nevertheless felt that the Muro Lucano inscription demonstrated that the Greek of Potentia 39 was a calque of an Oscan formula.¹⁹ This conclusion has been followed in later work, with Crawford stating most recently that the inscription is ‘Greek in morphology and syntax, Oscan in idiom’.²⁰

There is some evidence that the phrase used in Potentia 39 existed in Greek outside Italy. In most Greek-speaking areas,

¹⁶ Manni Piraino 1968: 454, 456 n. 105. ¹⁷ Guzzo 1984: 202.

¹⁸ Lejeune 1967: 210. ¹⁹ Lejeune 1985: 55.

²⁰ Crawford 2011b: 50. However, the relationship between the three similar formulae is complicated, and may show multiple calques between the two languages. For example, Poccetti considers the use of σὺπ to show that the dating formula on the helmet (Lu 37) was calqued from a Greek phrase using ἐπί similar to that in Potentia 39, while Lu 4 shows an older version of the Oscan phrase. Poccetti 2010: 667.

this kind of dating formula is not found at all until the second or third century AD.²¹ However, the phrases ἐπὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀρχῆς or ἐπὶ τῆς + GEN. + ἀρχῆς are commonly used on the island of Delos from the fourth century BC.²² These are not used as the main dating formula for the inscriptions, which is still usually ἐπὶ + GEN. + ἄρχοντος. Rather, these phrases are used as expressions of time in the main text of a large number of inscriptions. This connection with Delos is a suggestive one. There were considerable numbers of Italian traders on Delos from at least 167 BC, when the island was set up as a trading outpost.²³ There is possible inscriptional evidence of Italians on Delos as early as 250 BC, though the evidence from 250–140 is considerably more modest than that after 140 BC.²⁴

The inscription from Serra di Vaglio considerably pre-dates the evidence of Italiote Greeks and Italic-style names at Delos, which mainly dates from the second century BC onwards.²⁵ There is little doubt that the formula of Potentia 39 represents a calque from Oscan rather than the use of a widespread Greek formula. But it is possible that the man who composed the inscription was familiar with the phrase ἐπὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀρχῆς from contact with Delos, and that this suggested itself to him as a natural enough Greek equivalent to the Oscan συπ μεδικιαί + GEN. or NOM. + σουφεν μεδδικεν. The usage of this phrase as a dating formula rather than in the body of the text represents an innovation, but one which may have taken place because of someone using his knowledge of similar phrases in Greek epigraphy. If we allow for wider networks of contacts, particularly

²¹ For example: *IG* II² 2193: ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς Γαῖου Κυίντου Ἰμέρτου Μαραθωνίου (c. 200 AD, Attica); *IG* IX.1 18: ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς Ἀντέρωτος τοῦ Ἀντέρωτος (198–209 AD, Phokis); *IG* IX.18: ἐπὶ [τῆς] ἀρχῆς Μ(άρκου) Οὐλπίου Δαμασπίππου (late second/early third century, Phokis).

²² Among other examples, see: *ID* 104(24) (345/4 BC); *ID* 296 (shortly after 244 BC); *ID* 298 (240 BC); *ID* 310 (250–166 BC); *ID* 313 (235–234? BC); *ID* 320 (229 BC); *ID* 98 (377–373 BC); *ID* 354 (218 BC); *ID* 443 (178 BC).

²³ Adams 2003: 642–3.

²⁴ Baslez 1996; Compatangelo-Soussignan 2006: 169. There was some suggestion in past scholarship that these Italians were predominantly Oscan-speakers, on the basis of onomastics and the use of double spelling of long vowels in some inscriptions, though this evidence has now been rejected. See Adams 2003: 661–2 for references and more detailed discussion.

²⁵ Étienne 2002: 6.

among local elites and traders, it also becomes less mysterious that this inscription does not use the variety of Greek of the nearest Greek city.

The choice to use Greek in this kind of inscription may be an unusual one. With only a few comparable inscriptions, it is difficult to say what the preferred language for building inscriptions was, and it is interesting that the magistrates of Serra di Vaglio and Muro Lucano made different decisions. There are, however, comparanda for the use of Greek at other sites in the region. At Petelia, an inscription dated to the third or second century BC commemorates the building of a *stoa* (*IG* XIV 637), and the two magistrates mentioned both appear to have Oscan-style names. The formula of the Petelia inscription is comparable to the formula of Potentia 39 in its use of ἐπί + MAGISTRACY + GEN.²⁶ These inscriptions reflect that Serra di Vaglio and Petelia may have been bilingual communities in which Greek was felt to have greater prestige. The choice of Greek may also reflect a personal decision by the magistrate. He may have had close connections to Greek-speaking areas, or may have wanted to signal his own personal membership of the Hellenised local elite.²⁷

Buxentum 2

Buxentum 2 is the bronze handle of a caduceus (staff), inscribed with the letters <ΔΗ>. This is understood as an abbreviation



Figure 23 Buxentum 2. Image provided by M. Gualtieri

²⁶ The full text of the inscription reads: ἐπὶ γυμνασιάρχῳ[ν] [μ]ινάτου κριττίου μινά[του] μ[α]τίλα μάρκου κριτ[τίου] μινάτου ἢ στο<ΔΗ> ἀνε[σκευ]άσθη ἐκ τῶν κοινῶν χρημάτων (*IG* XIV 637).

²⁷ Poccetti 2010: 666.

of the Greek word δη(μόσιον), marking the object as ‘public’.²⁸ This inscription has been used to confirm that the large buildings found at the Roccagloriosa site were of a public nature.²⁹ The use of Greek in this context may also show that the idea of ‘public’ objects and buildings had come to the community from their knowledge of Greek cities.³⁰ The existence of this Greek inscription at the same location and period as the Oscan-language bronze law discussed in Chapter 6 (Lu 62) has raised some discussion of how this community understood the term ‘public’.

In Oscan, the noun *touta-* (<**teutā*) means ‘people, citizenry’.³¹ It appears in Umbrian, South Picene and Marucian (MV1), but within Oscan itself this noun appears only in South Oscan texts (Tabula Bantina; Me 1, 2). It also seems to appear in the Tortora inscription (Ps 20) as ΤΟΨΤΙΑ. The derived adjective *toutico-*, ‘of the people, public’, appears all over the Oscan-speaking area, including the Tabula Bantina and Lu 62. It is also found in the ‘Pre-Samnite’ Ps 1 (Nerulum 1) as ΤΟΥΤΙΚΕΜ (with post-position –ΕΝ). It has been suggested that the adjective *toutico-* is used in two slightly different ways in Oscan, as the result of a shift in meaning caused by contact with Latin.³² In many Oscan official texts, where it often modifies **meddīs**, it means ‘of the people, of this state’.³³ It is also used with this meaning to mark objects such as tiles.³⁴ It has been proposed that the secondary meaning of ‘public, as opposed to private’ found in the Tabula Bantina and Lu 62 would be the result of a loan-shift based on Latin *publicus* (*touta-* : *toutico-* :: *populus* : *publicus*).³⁵

Poccetti has suggested that the semantics of ‘public’ in Oscan may in fact have been as a result of contact with Greek rather than Latin. He cites the use of the Greek word δη(μόσιον) on this handle and other objects stamped with the legend

²⁸ Gualtieri and Fracchia 1990: 317; Fracchia and Gualtieri 2009: 129.

²⁹ Gualtieri 2000a: 54; Fracchia and Gualtieri 2009: 126–30.

³⁰ Fracchia and Gualtieri 2009: 133. ³¹ Untermann 2000: 779.

³² Porzio Gernia 1970: 125; Untermann 2000: 783.

³³ Cm 10 (Herculaneum 1); Sa 5 (Teruentum 11).

³⁴ E.g. tPo 42 (Teruentum 1). ³⁵ Porzio Gernia 1970: 125.

δη(μόσιον) in Bruttium.³⁶ He also cites the use of τῶφτο in the phrase τῶφτο μαμερτινο (Me 1) as a synonym for Greek δῆμος.³⁷ He sees this loan-shift, by which *touto-* came to be seen as an equivalent of δῆμος, as taking place primarily in the south in the most extensively bilingual areas.³⁸ Poccetti suggests that the use of τοὔτεικαισ in Lu 62 is a clear example of this word meaning ‘public, rather than private’ because the word that follows it is αὐτ, which implies that a contrast is being made between these two concepts.³⁹

The change in semantics that Porzio Gernia and Poccetti have suggested here seems fairly banal, and could have taken place in Oscan independently of both Latin and Greek. There may be a reason other than semantics for whether the Greek or Oscan word is used in a particular context. The Greek term δημόσιον may have been used to a greater extent in ceremonial official contexts than in legal contexts, where Oscan language and terminology were important to the codification of the law. We could therefore make a contrast between the language used in law and that used in other public contexts, even where similar concepts are discussed.

Conclusions on official texts

With such small numbers of texts, we must of course be cautious about making too many generalisations. Nevertheless, it seems that official and public texts of other kinds could be written in Greek in many bilingual or predominantly Oscan-speaking communities, such as Serra di Vaglio and Petelia. The use of Greek in a public context could also co-exist with the use of Oscan, as at Roccagloriosa. As in previous chapters, we have seen that the use of Greek in official inscriptions does not always involve straightforward borrowing: the apparent

³⁶ Poccetti and Gualtieri 2001: 239; Poccetti 1988: 121. For example, a Greek-language tile stamp from Petelia uses the same abbreviation (Pocc. 201). See also the use of the same abbreviation at Pithecusae, where it is used by magistrates with Oscan-style names.

³⁷ Poccetti and Gualtieri 2001: 240.

³⁸ Poccetti and Gualtieri 2001: 240.

³⁹ Poccetti and Gualtieri 2001: 239.

calque of an Oscan formula in Potentia 39 shows how Greek could be adapted to a local idiom.

The contrast between Potentia 39 and Lu 4 shows that the personal choice of individuals could affect the language of the inscription. These texts occur in parallel circumstances at a similar time period, but one uses Greek and the other Oscan. This may relate to the relative prestige of the two languages at the different sites, different self-identification by the two communities, or the preferences of the men who commissioned the inscriptions. We should also acknowledge the possibility that the choice of language was not always particularly significant, especially if all literate people could read both languages.

Coin legends

Coins were usually produced on behalf of Oscan-speaking communities by Greek craftsmen, probably in workshops that were also producing coins for Greek-speaking communities. Many of the legends on the coins made of Oscan-speaking cities were written in Greek. The production of coins was therefore a forum for written evidence of language contact. We have already explored the possibility in [Chapter 3](#) that a great deal of alphabetic experimentation took place in coin legends. It is likely, for example, that the origins of the South Oscan alphabet, or at least its special characters (e.g. for /f/), can be traced back to the earliest coins produced for Oscan-speaking communities. The denominations and designs of the coins were also based heavily on Greek models. There is little space here to discuss the full significance of the various designs, typologies and weights, but these elements can help us to understand the legends in context.⁴⁰

We can see coin issues as an expression of local or regional identity to some extent.⁴¹ Some of the cities of Italy had their own coins struck as a sign of political autonomy, particularly

⁴⁰ In general, the most detailed information about the coin issues of this region can be found in Rutter 2001: 108–97.

⁴¹ Isayev 2007: 22.

around the Hannibalic War. After the battle of Cannae in 216 BC, many of the towns of Lucania and Bruttium were allied to Hannibal and had a strong motive to stress their independence from Rome.⁴² At the same period Petelia, which remained loyal to Rome, was apparently given permission to reopen its own independent mint as a reward for its service.⁴³ Although aspects of the production and design of coins for Oscan-speaking regions were in the hands of primarily Greek-speaking craftsmen, we can assume that the magistrates or officials who commissioned the coins could express preferences as to the designs and legends. The use of Greek legends can, therefore, be seen as one way in which these communities identified themselves to others.⁴⁴ The designs chosen could reference aspects of identity, such as the name of the city or its magistrates, links to a mother city or local symbols. For example, the coins of Metapontum show a sheaf of corn, referencing its agricultural wealth.

One bronze series of the coinage of the Lucani, labelled *ΛΥΚΙΑΝΩΝ* in Greek, shows an external rather than internal view-point of the Oscan-speaking Lucani. These coins bear a wolf-head design which is exclusive to the Lucanian coinage. The symbol seems to relate to the Greek legend *ΛΥΚΙΑΝΩΝ*, and implies that this was understood as ‘people of the wolf’, related to Greek *λύκος*, ‘wolf’.⁴⁵ This pun would not work in Oscan, where ‘wolf’ would have a medial /p/ similar to Latin *lupus*, though of course the design could have been chosen by someone with knowledge of both languages. Cappelletti suggests that, in the context of a conflict with Rome, the legend stresses the Lucani’s connection to Magna Graecia, particularly to Metapontum where there was a temple of Apollo Lykos.⁴⁶ The pun also required a slightly different transcription of the ethnic in Greek than is normally found in literary sources. The only form of this ethnic found in Greek literature is *Λευκανοί*, which

⁴² For example, the coinage of the Volcei. Rutter 2001: 122.

⁴³ Caltabiano 1977: 11. ⁴⁴ Crawford 2011b: 6.

⁴⁵ Rutter 2001: 129; Cappelletti 2005: 12.

⁴⁶ Cappelletti 2005: 16. Crawford has pointed out that, since the wolf was also the symbol of Rome, this was something of a strange choice: Crawford 2011b: 1320.

would suggest a connection to Greek λευκός ‘white’ rather than to λύκος. A similar example of a Greek pun on an Oscan name may be found in the Saunitai 1 coinage. These show a javelin on the reverse, which is a pun which works in Greek rather than Oscan (Greek σαυνίον, ‘javelin’).⁴⁷

The other coin series of the Lucani, labelled either λυκιανων in Greek or λουκανομ in Oscan, are completely identical to the coinage of the Bruttii.⁴⁸ This suggests that all of these series were made for the Lucani who had fought for Hannibal and had followed him to Bruttium in 207 BC, and were produced either by the Oscan-speaking Bruttii or by Greek-speakers.⁴⁹ While there may have been Lucanian input into the design of these coins, they were produced to pay Lucanian mercenaries rather than being a self-projection of regional identity. Only one coin series, the Punic half-shekels inscribed λουκα produced by Oscan-speakers at Metapontum, is likely to have been produced by Lucanian Oscan-speakers themselves.⁵⁰

A table summarising the coin issues associated with various South Oscan-speaking communities is given below, following the issues published in the *Imagines Italicae* corpus (Table 20). Each Crawford number includes all of the coinage produced by a particular community; in some cases, this can be subdivided into a number of separate coin issues. The numbers of the separate issues in *Historia Nummorum (Italy)* are also given where available. All dates are as given by Crawford.

The majority of coin issues in this region use the Greek language, including for ethnics and personal names of Oscan origin. Only one city, Messana, also uses Oscan morphology. At Messana, the legend on two issues is in Oscan.⁵¹ However, many of the legends are abbreviated, so that the intended language of the text is not clear. This is in keeping with practices in coin production generally, but also has the advantage of ambiguity: the viewer can read the coin legend as Oscan, Greek or both.

⁴⁷ Cappelletti 2005: 17.

⁵⁰ Crawford 2011b: 48.

⁴⁸ Cappelletti 2005: 11.

⁵¹ Crawford 2011b: 1511.

⁴⁹ Crawford 2011b: 49.

Table 20 *Coin issues*

Crawford number	Date	Type	Legends
Lucani 1 <i>HN</i> 1,449–58	207–204	(a) Silver half-shekels (Metapontum type) (b and c) Struck bronze coinage	(a) λουκα (b) λουκανομ (c) λυκιανων 'Of the Lucanians'
Laos 1 <i>HN</i> 2,289–309	350–300	Struck bronze coinage	λαινων 'Of the people of Laos' Abbreviated personal names: σπελ ου υσ στα οφι μι βε κο μο φι βι ευθυμο ιερ
Volcei 1 <i>HN</i> 1,341–5	216–209	Cast and struck bronze coinage	φελεχα, φελεχ, φε 'Of the Volceientes'
Saunitai 1 <i>HN</i> 446	325–275	Silver obols	σαυνιταν (right-to-left) 'Of the Samnites'
Pitanatai Peripoloi 1 <i>HN</i> 445	c. 350	Silver obols	πιταναταν περιπολων 'Of the Pitanaatai Peripoloi'
Orlanoi 1 <i>HN</i> 2,674	215–204	Struck bronze coinage	ορλανων τρεβιου ραιου 'Of the Orlanoi, of Trebis Raiis'

(cont.)

Table 20 (*cont.*)

Crawford number	Date	Type	Legends
Orsantinoi I <i>HN</i> 2,654–6	215–204	Struck bronze coinage	ορσαντινων ‘Of the Orsantinoi’
Grumentum I <i>HN</i> 783–4 ^a	215–209	Bronze coinage	γρυ ‘?Grumentum’
Brettii I <i>HN</i> 1,940–2,012	216–204	Gold coinage Silver coinage Struck bronze coinage	βρεττιων ‘Of the Bruttii’
Breig I <i>HN</i> 2,678–9	<i>c.</i> 250–200	Struck bronze coinage	(a) τραπεσ βρειγ κ α (b) κ α βρειγ βα ^b
Consentia I <i>HN</i> 2,071–4	325–300	Struck bronze coinage	κωσ ‘?Cosentia’
Petelia I <i>HN</i> 2,453–67	215–early second century	Struck bronze coinage	πετηλινων, πε ‘Of the Petelians’ Abbreviated personal names: αυ τρ τρ αυ ζ τρι μαικ τρ τρι
Caulonia I	300–200	Struck bronze coinage	No legend
Hyporum I <i>HN</i> 2,269	<i>c.</i> 300	Struck bronze coinage	υπωρ μ υ ‘?Hyporum M. U.’

Taesia I	250–200	Struck bronze coinage	τα ‘?Taesia’
Nuceria I <i>HN</i> 2,437–48	c. 300, 216–204	Struck bronze coinage	(a) νουκρινων ‘Of the Nucerians’ (b) νουκρι στατιου ‘Of the Nucerians, of Statiis’ (c) ηρ νουκρι ‘?Her. Of the Nucerians’
Vibo I <i>HN</i> 2,243–61	350–275	Struck bronze coinage	ειπωνιεων, φειπ, φει ‘Of the Vibonenses’ διοσ ολυμπιου ‘Of Olympian Zeus’ πανδινα ‘Pandina’ σωτειρα ‘Saviour’ νικα ‘Victory’ νυμ ?Oscan ‘νυμφισ’ ^c
Messana I	c. 225	Struck bronze coinage	(a) μαμερτινων, μαμ ‘Of the Mamertines’ (b) μαμερτινων, μαμερτινουμ ‘Of the Mamertines’

^a Crawford assigns these to Grumentum, but Rutter disagrees and assigns them to Grumo Appula, in Apulia. Rutter 2001: 88.

^b For translation, see Crawford 2011b: 1466.

^c Crawford 2011b: 1495.

Alongside the ethnics, various other names and words appear on these coins, many of which are reduced to monograms or short abbreviations. Some appear to correspond to Oscan-style names, such as $\sigma\tau\alpha\phi\iota$ in Laos 1. Others where two initials appear, such as $\mu\upsilon$ in Hyporum 1 and $\kappa\alpha$ in Breig 1, may also correspond to two-part Oscan names. The Laos 1 coinage gives us the only names that are clearly of Greek origin. It is worth noting that in the Laos 1 coinage, Greek names can occur alongside Oscan names, so that Greek $\epsilon\upsilon\theta\upsilon\mu\omicron(\sigma/\upsilon)$ sometimes occurs with Oscan $\sigma\pi\epsilon\lambda$.⁵² There may be some other Greek names among the abbreviated name forms on other coins such as the zeta on Petelia 1. The coinage of Vibo 1, unlike the other cities, also has subsidiary legends that include names of Greek deities and epithets of deities. It is possible that $\nu\upsilon\mu$ is an abbreviation of the Oscan name $\nu\upsilon\mu\psi\iota\omicron\sigma$ on this coinage, but the legend is unclear.⁵³

The use of various weights and designs in these coin issues can also, to some extent, give us a sense of the connections between these communities and the cities of Magna Graecia. For example, there are clear relationships between the coin types of Lucani 1 and Orsantinoi 1 and the coins produced at Metapontum.⁵⁴ Similarly, the earlier issue of Nuceria (c. 300 BC) is similar to the issues of Rhegium.⁵⁵ The coinage of Vibo shows typological similarities to issues from Syracuse, Locri and Terina.⁵⁶ At Laos, the coinage shows links to Poseidonia/Paestum and Sybaris.⁵⁷ How far these similarities in weight and typology reflect ongoing social and economic interaction between these communities is unclear.

The overall picture we get from coin legends is one of very close adherence to Greek models and the continued use of Greek language. This is in part from necessity, since the coins were being produced by Greek-speaking craftsmen. It may be that even where independent mints were set up, 'the Greekness of the institution of coinage brought with it the Greekness of

⁵² Crawford 2011b: 1343.

⁵³ Crawford 2011b: 1495.

⁵⁴ Rutter 2001: 129, 196.

⁵⁵ Rutter 2001: 184.

⁵⁶ Rutter 2001: 175.

⁵⁷ Rutter 2001: 176.

the language used to identify it'.⁵⁸ But the use of Greek in coin legends also reflects the extent of the bilingual environment in many of these areas, and the advantages of using Greek-style coins when conducting trade with the wider Greek-speaking world.

Funerary texts

Only two South Oscan texts are securely identified as funerary inscriptions. Both of these texts are among the latest in the South Oscan corpus, and both show considerable influence from contemporary Latin funerary texts. One further text has sometimes been identified as funerary, but this cannot be confirmed. It is possible that the paucity of funerary inscriptions is down to lack of excavation in necropoleis, particularly since all three of the texts discussed here were found out of context, re-used in modern structures. However, there are areas where necropoleis and graves have been excavated, notably in Laos and Paestum, where inscribed funerary monuments have not come to light.

All this suggests that Southern Italy did not have a strong tradition of inscribed funerary monuments until the era when Latin funerary texts started being produced in the region. This is not surprising, since there is a low level of funerary texts in the Oscan corpus as a whole.⁵⁹ Though burial practices varied somewhat across the Oscan-speaking area, including within communities,⁶⁰ few graves are associated with inscribed

⁵⁸ Crawford 2011b: 4; also Guzzo 1984: 228. ⁵⁹ Crawford 2011b: 15.

⁶⁰ A variety of burial and cremation methods existed in the Oscan-speaking areas during this period. Generally speaking, the most common method was inhumation in a contracted or supine position with the head propped up, in trench graves lined with stones or tiles. Inhumation in chamber tombs is also common. At some sites tombs are elaborately painted with scenes of chariot races, gladiators and warriors, particularly at Capua, Cumae, Abella, Allifae and Paestum. There is evidence of large-scale cremations becoming the practice for prominent individuals during the fourth century at Lucanian sites such as Rocca gloriosa. The grave goods of the elite typically contain full banqueting sets alongside a few weapons or pieces of armour. For more detail, see Davies 1977: 13–14; Gualtieri and Becker 1982; Fracchia 2004: 73.

markers. In Samnium, the normal practice seems to have been to mark a man's grave with a spear and a woman's with a spindle, though many tombs in Lucania and Bruttium are without any markers.⁶¹ We do not know what kind of graves the monuments inscribed with South Oscan funerary texts marked.

Most of the known inscribed funerary monuments are from the North Oscan area after 200 BC, when Latin practices may have been a strong influence.⁶² Few contain more than just personal names, though there are some lengthier exceptions. Some individuals are given a profession, such as nurse or priestess.⁶³ Po 51 (Teanum Sidicinum 24) gives the age of the deceased, though this seems to read CXII, '112 years'.⁶⁴ There are some funerary texts from the Central Oscan area, but the identification of these is often uncertain. The earliest are texts on stone from Capua, and consist only of personal names.

Lu 39 (Anxia 1)

The oldest of the possible South Oscan funerary texts is Anxia 1. This text has already been dealt with in some detail in [Chapter 4](#), since it is not completely clear whether this is a funerary or a dedicatory text, and the text is not well understood. The main problem in identifying this as a funerary text is the lack of a recognisable personal name, though this depends on the reconstruction of the missing text.

⁶¹ Salmon 1967: 63; Davies 1977: 14.

⁶² The main tradition of Latin funerary epigraphy seems to have developed in the late third or early second century BC, although a handful of older Latin epigraphs survive, and the practice may have originated outside the city of Rome itself, perhaps in Campania. Berrendonner suggests that the earlier tradition was limited to prominent members of the aristocracy, while the later tradition was a separate development which commemorated a wider range of people and served a different social purpose. See Berrendonner 2009.

⁶³ Pg 53 (Corfinium 10), Pg 14 (Corfinium 7), Pg 13 (Sulmo 7).

⁶⁴ See Crawford 2011b: 559 for various possibilities for reading the age. Since very few tombstones in Oscan mention the age of the deceased, it seems plausible that the commemorated woman was at least very elderly.

Lu 40 (Cosilinum 2)

Transcription

[?- σκ]αλαπονισ. πακφηισ
 [vac] οπιεσ. πιω[.] αισ(ωισ). εκο
 [vac] σαλαφσ. φαλε
 vacat

Translation

[? Sk]alaponis, son of Pakwis,
 Opiis. (May) this (stone) (be) auspicious to the gods.
 Greetings; farewell.

This inscription was discovered and copied in the seventeenth century by L. Mandelli, and is now lost.⁶⁵ La Regina's reading is used here; he observed that the stone was probably broken at the left-hand side, and possibly also on the right.⁶⁶ If the inscription is complete on the right, the personal name is missing its praenomen and the beginning of the gentilicium, but the rest of the inscription is complete. The final element, οπιεσ, may be a cognomen.

The final line of the inscription shows a greeting formula. Greetings are found in other Oscan-language funerary texts, such as *salaus* in MV 7 (Teate Marrucinorum 3) and **salavs** in Cm 18 (Cumae 13). MV 6 (Teate Marrucinorum 4) uses the same two greetings as here, written *salas uali*. It is possible that the greeting is intended to be from the deceased to the reader.⁶⁷ Lazzeroni takes σαλαφσ as translated from the Greek χαῖρε, but also points out that Latin *salve* is common in the same context.⁶⁸ We probably cannot pin down whether the formula in this inscription is inspired directly by Greek, Latin or Oscan models in this instance. Rather, it was part of a development of funerary texts and monuments that was taking place across Italy during this period.

The second line of the text is less easy to understand. The final word εκο appears to be feminine nominative singular of 'this', with πιω, 'auspicious', as an adjective.⁶⁹ If αισ is an

⁶⁵ See Crawford 2011b: 1356–7. ⁶⁶ La Regina 2002: 60.

⁶⁷ McLean 2002: 269. ⁶⁸ Lazzeroni 1972: 13–14. ⁶⁹ Crawford 2011b: 1357.

abbreviation of αἰσ(ωἰσ) or αἰσ(ἰσ),⁷⁰ then this would mean ‘to the gods’.⁷¹ Crawford’s translation reads ‘(may) this (stone) (be) auspicious to the gods’.⁷² It might be possible to connect this to the Latin formula *dis manibus* and its various Greek translations.⁷³ However, the closest equivalent is the Paelignian funerary inscription Pg 12 (Sulmo 6), *et. aisis. sato*, ‘(it) is sacred also to the gods’, which suggests the sharing of funerary formulae across a wide area.

Lu 41 (Tegianum 1)

This inscription is built into the back wall of the cathedral in Teggiano. The name on the inscription was previously read as πλατορ σι. αλαπониεσ, with various debates about the order of the names, the Latin equivalent of the unusual gentilicium and the full form of the abbreviated σι.⁷⁴ However, the inscription has now been reread, and the accepted reading is πλατορ σκαλαπониεσ.⁷⁵

The name Plator is found elsewhere as an individual name, for example in an inscription from Campania (Teanum Sidicinum 25). It is found as a Greek name elsewhere in Italy, especially in Tarentum, but is thought to be of Messapic origin.⁷⁶ The name may have found its way into the South Oscan naming system to be absorbed as a praenomen. Another possibility is that the inscription refers to a freedman, who kept his original name as a praenomen. A possible *collibertus* is mentioned in a Latin inscription in Paestum (*A. Scalponius Paq. l. Quir.*, *CIL* x 497).

Lu 41 is among the oldest examples of funerary monuments of this *naiskos* type, which appear in Italy around the end of

⁷⁰ Untermann 2000: 68–9 lists this as an o-stem noun, following Rix 1967; Meiser 1987: 111; but Lejeune (1972a) explains it as a u-stem; see Lejeune 1972a: 135; Rix 1967 for more detail.

⁷¹ Cf. *aisos* Fr 12 (Histonium 9), MV 1 (Teate Marrucinorum 2); *aisis* Pg 12 (Sulmo 6); *aisu{s}is* Cp 37 (Capua 34).

⁷² Crawford 2011b: 1357. ⁷³ McLean 2002: 268.

⁷⁴ Bracco 1974 no. 241; Sironen 1991; Campanile 1992b: 219.

⁷⁵ La Regina 2002: 60; Crawford 2011b: 1359; McDonald 2012a: 51–2.

⁷⁶ La Regina 2002: 59.



Figure 24 Lu 41 (Tegianum 1). Photo provided by M. Crawford

the second or beginning of the first century BC.⁷⁷ In general, Lucania shows early evidence of the adoption of the *naiskos* form of individual tombs.⁷⁸ This model was adapted and produced locally, but formed part of the cultural language of the elite in the Hellenistic western Mediterranean.⁷⁹ In Southern Italy, these monuments are usually found inscribed in Latin or

⁷⁷ Gualtieri 2003: 148.

⁷⁸ Gualtieri 2003: 207.

⁷⁹ Gualtieri 2003: 208–9.

left uninscribed. Another stele from Teggiano with a very similar portrait and a Latin inscription reading *Samius C. f. Aniensi* is probably almost contemporary with Lu 41, and other examples of the same form from Teggiano also use Latin.⁸⁰ The use of this *naiskos* form with an Oscan-language inscription shows an individual reaction to the many influences on the population of Lucania during the second century. This seems more likely to be a choice based on the desired effect of the monument than the result of not being able to find a mason who could write Latin, since Latin was already being used for similar monuments in Lucania at this period. It is likely that the use of Oscan was meant to express local ties and perhaps connections to a prominent local family. Because the alphabet is recognisably Greek, it may also express wider connections across the Hellenistic world, since anyone literate in Greek would be able to read the name.

Tile stamps, graffiti and dipinti

Tile stamps, other makers' stamps and marks, dipinti and graffiti often contain only very short texts. Taken in isolation, they can tell us only a limited amount about language contact in the South Oscan corpus. However, when considered alongside the other genres of inscriptions, they can add some additional detail to our view of Greek/Oscan bilingualism, in particular the domains in which Greek was used.

Tile stamps

Tile stamps are a feature of public buildings in Oscan- and Greek-speaking Italy.⁸¹ As such, they fit to some extent within the category of 'official' texts, though they are often very short and abbreviated (Table 21). Stamps produced to be used in a public building may contain an ethnic, or may label the tile as $\delta\epsilon\iota\phi\iota\nu(o)$ 'of the god(ess)'. The stamp on tLu 9 (Vibo 3) $\phi\epsilon\rho\epsilon\kappa o$ appears to mean 'of the *vereia*'. We do not know exactly

⁸⁰ Gualtieri 2003: 148.

⁸¹ Crawford 2003: 27.

Table 21 *Tile and brick stamps from Lucania and Bruttium*

Inscription number	Findspot	Date	Text
Luc.Bret.Sic 2	None	200–100	ΔΕΙΦΙΝ(Ο) 'of the god(dess)'
tMe 3 (Luc.Bret.Sic 5)	None	150–100	ΦΕ ΚΥ 'Ve. Ku.'
tLu 15 (Velia 1)	Velia?	c. 200–100	[-? - p]úmpunis 'Pompunis'
Numistro 2	Baragiano	200–100	abolíies αβολιιιε[σ] 'Aboliis'
tLu 10 (Potentia 42)	Tricarico	400–100	ΦΕ ΚΑΡ 'Ve. Kar.'
Potentia 43	Tricarico		[-? -]h(eíre)n(s) [-? -] 'Heirens'
tLu 1 (Potentia 44)	Tricarico	c. 225	τρεβισ αρροντιεσ τρεβισ. αρροντιεσ 'Trebis Arrontiis'
Thurii Copia 2	Castiglione	Before 205	ΦΕ 'Ve.'
Caulonia 3	Monasterace	300–200	ΦΕ 'Ve.'
Caulonia 4	Monasterace	300–200	ΦΕ 'Ve.'
Caulonia 5	Monasterace	c. 400?	ΤΣ 'Ts.'
tLu 11 (Nuceria 2)	Piano della Tirena	Before 200	ΦΕ. ΤΟΥ 'Ve. Tou.'
tLu 9 (Vibo 3)	Vibo Valentia	Before 200	ΦΕΡΕΚΟ 'of the vereia'
Vibo 4	Vibo Valentia	Before 200	Π. ΜΑΡ(ΑΣ) ΒΑΡΑΒΙΕΣ 'P. and Mar. Barabiis'
tLu 3–5 (Vibo 5)	Vibo Valentia	Before 200	ΚΟΤΤΕΙΗΣ 'Of Cottiis'
tLu 8 (Vibo 6)	Vibo Valentia	Before 200	ΜΑΙΗΣ 'Of Mais'
tLu 7 (Vibo 7)	Vibo Valentia	300–275	ΤΟΥΡΕΙΕΙΣ 'Of Touriis'
tLu 6 (Vibo 8)	Vibo Valentia	Before 200	ΟΡΤΙΗΣ 'Of Ortiis'
tLu 13 (Tauriani 1)	Various	c. 100	ΤΑΥΡΙΑΝΟΥΜ 'Of the Tauriani'
tMe 1 (= tLu 14) (Messana 2)	Messana	Before 200	ΜΑΜΕΡΤΙΝΟΥΜ 'Of the Mamertines'
Messana 3	Messana	250–150	ΜΑΜΕΡΤΙΝΩΝ 'Of the Mamertines'
tMe 2 (Messana 8)	Messana	Before 200	Λ. ΠΑΑΠ[-? -] 'L. Pap[-? -]'

Table 22 *Other stamps from Lucania and Bruttium*

Inscription number	Type	Findspot	Date	Text
Lucania 2	Amphora stamp	Serra Lustrante	c. 200	<i>trbl. fice(t)</i> 'Trbl. made (this)'
Teuranus Ager 3	Vase stamp	Tiriolo	Before 200	τ π 'T. P.'
Teuranus Ager 4	Vase stamp	Tiriolo	Before 200	κερ 'Ker.'

what the *vereia* was, but it seems to have been a public body of some kind.⁸² The abbreviation $\text{f}\epsilon$ on many of the tiles could also refer to the *vereia*, but it could also be an abbreviation for a praenomen or for the name Venus.⁸³ Other tiles, labelled with the genitive of a masculine personal name, seem to refer to the maker rather than a magistrate.

Tile and brick stamps demonstrate the amount of interaction between speakers of different languages and users of different alphabets in this region. Stamps are one of the few genres for which we have Central Oscan alphabet inscriptions in Lucania. For example, the tile stamps from Tricarico, near Rossano di Vaglio, show a mixture of South Oscan and Central Oscan alphabets, but no Greek. At Numistro, we also have a rare example of bi-version text with a name written in both Latin and Greek script (Numistro 2). Stamps intended to mark goods for export, such as the amphora stamp Lucania 2, may also show deliberate use of the Latin alphabet for legibility outside Lucania.

Several sites produce tile stamps in both Oscan and Greek. In particular, Vibo gives us a number of tile stamps with Oscan morphology, but also several examples of Oscan-style names with Greek morphology.⁸⁴ Tile stamps can be difficult to date,

⁸² Crawford 2011b: 25–6. ⁸³ Crawford 2011b: 26.

⁸⁴ Crawford does not include these in the main South Oscan corpus, but they are included in his appendix. Crawford 2011b: 1530–1. These stamps read (1) $\pi\epsilon\rho\kappa\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$

and it is not completely clear whether the Greek texts were produced at the same period as the Oscan ones. However, it suggests that Vibo may have been home to craftsmen speaking both languages at some periods. Similarly, the language used at Messana varies between Greek and Oscan.

At Petelia, by contrast, there are no tile stamps in Oscan. There is one in Greek which mentions two magistrates with Oscan-style two-part names written with Greek morphology.⁸⁵ Alongside the Greek-language coinage of Petelia, the use of Greek for an official inscription (*IG* XIV 637) and the Petelia 2 curse tablet which code-switches between Oscan and Greek, this gives the impression of a community in which Greek was of higher prestige. The difference between Vibo and Petelia – both originally Greek settlements, and both in Bruttium – may even show differences in language use within quite a small area, though we should be wary of letting too much rest on a very small amount of evidence.

Graffiti, dipinti and makers' signatures

It can be difficult to distinguish between graffiti and dipinti written by the owner of an object and those written by the maker, and so all these texts are listed together here (Table 23). Some are more likely to be written by the maker. For example, the fact that the writer of Luc.Bret.Sic 4 gives his profession as ἀργε(τασις), 'silversmith', suggests that he is the manufacturer of the silver cantharus. From the placement of the name, πλασοο is certainly the name of the artist who painted the tomb in which the inscription appears and not the name of the deceased (Lu 42/Paestum 3). The inscription in relief on the lead weight Tauriani 2 is also likely to indicate the maker rather than the owner, since it was done during production, but we cannot discount the possibility that the inscription was commissioned by the owner.

(= Capiabbi 131), (2) ποπ(λιου) (= tLu 2), (3) ποντιου (= *IG* XIV 2402.2), (4) σπελλου (= Capiabbi 134). It is not clear why (2) is considered to have Greek morphology, since the text is abbreviated.

⁸⁵ Poccetti 1979: no. 201. δη(μοσια) επι λευκιου ορ(ιου) και νουιου ελε(φιου).

Table 23 *Graffiti, dipinti and makers' signatures*

Inscription number	Type	Findspot	Date	Text
Luc.Bret.Sic. 4	Silver cantharus (drinking cup with large handles)	None	c. 75	με(τις) δα(τιες) αραγε(τασις) 'Metis Datiis, silversmith'
Lu 42 (Paestum 3)	Dipinto on plaster	Paestum	370–360	πλασος 'Plasos'
Metapontum 2	Ceramic loomweight	Metapontum	c. 300	φε κft 'Ve. Kft.'
Heraclea 1	Ceramic plate (fragment)	Heraclea	None	pakis 'Pakis'
Lu 61 (Heraclea 2)	Coarse-ware jug	Montegiordano	Before c. 275	ν οψ 'N. Ops.' or 'Nops.'
Teuranus Ager 2	Fragment of vase	Tiriolo	c. 250	κερ 'Ker.'
Vibo 9	Graffito on lump of lead	Vibo Valentia	Before 200	υπλ 'Upl.'
Tauriani 2	In relief on lead weight	Tauriana	200–100	μαρας 'Maras'



Figure 25 Paestum 3. Tomb 1/1972, Necropoli del Gaudio, Paestum.
Author's photo, 23/04/12. Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Paestum

From the examples we have, it is possible that Greek was associated with artists and craftsmen in this region. Paestum 3 (Figure 25) is painted on a tomb from the Oscan-speaking era of the site. The name $\pi\lambda\alpha\theta\omicron\varsigma$, however, is morphologically Greek rather than Oscan, and the use of an individual name rather than a two-part name also indicates a Greek name. The name does not appear as a Greek individual name elsewhere, and may therefore be of Oscan or other Italian origin.

We cannot be certain of the background of the artist of Tomb 1/1972 from his name. Nevertheless, it may be significant that the artist wrote his signature in Greek. As can be seen from the table above, artists' or craftsmen's signatures written as full Oscan names with Oscan morphology are very rare. It is more common to abbreviate the name so that there is no morphology given at all, to give the name Greek morphology, or to use an Oscan praenomen as a single-part name in imitation of Greek.

Either these items were still made in predominantly Greek-speaking areas where these naming practices were common, or artists signing their work took care to choose a 'Greek' professional name to fit with the purchaser's expectations of quality goods.⁸⁶ These texts, although very brief, may still therefore have something to tell us about the domains in which Greek and Oscan were used, and the association of quality goods with Greek culture.

Conclusions

By looking at a range of texts of different genres, we can begin to flesh out our understanding of the interaction between Oscan and Greek across this region. It would be tempting to see the legal texts discussed in the previous chapter as symptomatic of an aversion to using Greek in public life in Oscan-speaking towns, but in fact other kinds of official texts show far more influence from Greek. Even at inland sites like Serra di Vaglio, it seems that the Greek language could be used by magistrates in an official capacity to mark the date of public works, though this was determined by the personal preferences of the magistrate. Other objects displaying official authority could also be written in Greek, including coin legends and tile stamps. Although many coin issues were produced by Greek-speaking workshops, even when coins were produced locally currency continued to be associated with the Greek language. What began as a necessity seems to have become a tradition.

It is also possible that art and luxury goods were associated with Greek artisans, and so were usually signed in Greek. Of course, we must be very careful not to assume the first language or preferred written language of the writer from his name. But

⁸⁶ The inscribed gold wreath from Armentum, Lucania (*SEG* 46.1313), may show evidence of a non-Greek-speaking craftsman signing his work with a Greek inscription, though the reason for the errors in the Greek is unclear. Cosani 1996. Compare also the fact that craftsmen at La Graufesenque in Gaul used Latin rather than Gaulish names on tiles intended for the wider market. Adams 2003: 705–6.

as with coins, it would make sense if objects that were originally associated with the Hellenistic world and Hellenised elites continued to be associated with the Greek language long after Oscan-speakers were producing the same kinds of objects.

The few funerary inscriptions that survive to us were produced in the last decades of the second century or the first century BC. By this stage in the history of the region, it is difficult to separate out Greek influences from Roman influences. However, the use of greetings and use of the *naiskos* form of monument with a portrait of the deceased both show participation in wider 'Hellenistic' cultural networks. The ambiguity of language in a funerary monument which contains only a name should not be underestimated: by choosing a Hellenistic-style monument with his name written in the adapted Greek alphabet, Plator Skalaponiis was making his monument legible to speakers of both Greek and Oscan. The ambiguity of many of the other short texts in this corpus should also be taken into account. In some cases, it is difficult for us to know whether particular coin legends, tile stamps and craftsmen's signatures were intended as Greek or Oscan. In fact, it may have been advantageous that these inscriptions could be read in either language.

When taken individually these texts may seem to provide little evidence about language contact between Greek and Oscan, but they are extremely useful to our overall impressions of the corpus. Even short texts such as coins and tile stamps show the use of Greek in Oscan-speaking or bilingual contexts, and the absorption of people with Italic names into Greek-speaking communities. Moreover, many of the texts in this chapter are concerned with self-presentation. Many members of these elites were happy to present themselves and their communities as bilingual, and in many cases seem to be signalling their membership of wider Hellenistic networks through their use of writing.

CONCLUSIONS

Oscan/Greek contact: summarising the evidence

Language contact is a complex phenomenon, and does not always produce the same results across space and time. Like many other drivers of language change, contact produces synchronic variation as well as diachronic changes, and as a result one inscription can never tell us everything we need to know. The place, time, genre, circumstances and individual writer all affect the language of the final product, sometimes in ways that it is difficult to predict or explain. Now that we have discussed the South Oscan inscriptions in depth as a corpus and as individual acts of writing, we can try to evaluate the current state of the evidence.

Genre variation

The previous chapters have shown that genre has to be taken into consideration in any exploration of language contact, and that this is especially important in a limited epigraphic corpus. The contact phenomena discussed in this book are summarised below (Table 24). Specific features are listed in the last column, ‘Other possible contact-induced phenomena’, where they may or may not be contact-induced, such as the use of the verb $\alpha\nu\alpha\phi\alpha\kappa\epsilon\tau$ in dedications, or the intention behind the feature is not understood, such as in the use of final $-\nu$ in the Lu 46 curse tablet.¹

Even in our limited corpus, it is clear that both Oscan and Greek texts could be produced at a site during the same period.

¹ I have not included the names of deities as lexical borrowings because of the early period at which these were nativised in Oscan. For the shared divine names in the languages of Italy, see Clackson and Horrocks 2007: 45.

Table 24 *Summary of Greek/Oscan contact phenomena in South Oscan texts*

Genre	Greek language at site where Oscan was in use	Oscan/Greek code-switch	Lexical borrowing	Orthographic or epigraphic influence from Greek	Other possible contact-induced phenomena
Dedications	SEG 29.1026 Potentia 29 Lu 23		Lu 29	Lu 5 (Greek numerals) Lu 39 ([μ]αχερηι)	Lu 18, 13, 14 (αναφακετ) Lu 6, 7, Me 5 (genitive of god's name) Lu 14, 15, 16, 64 (βρατεισ δατασ)
Curses	Laos 4 NGCT 82 SGD 124	Petelia 2 Lu 45 (re-used)		Lu 46 (βοθρονι-) Lu 45 (φοινι-, μαχιεσ) Petelia 2 (αλαφιω, σκαφιριω) Lu 62 (-γγ-) Lu 12 (Greek numerals?)	Lu 43, 44, 47 (NOM. (VERB) ACC. structure) Lu 46 (Use of -ν)
Legal Official	Potentia 39 Buxentum 2 IG XIV 637				
Coins	[Majority of coin issues]				
Funerary Stamps	Messana 3 Pocc. 201 Vibo stamps				Lu 40 (Use of greetings?)
Graffiti/ dipinti	Paestum 3				

This occurs across all genres apart from funerary texts and legal texts, for which our evidence base is very small. The contemporary use of both Greek and Oscan at a number of these sites, across a range of genres, shows the extent of bilingualism in this region. Many of the Greek texts contain Oscan-style names, and this also suggests bilingual rather than divided communities. Previous scholarship has not always taken into account that the use of two written languages in one community could be the rule and not the exception.

Other contact phenomena seem to be determined to some extent by the genre of the inscription. Borrowing and interference from Greek tend to cluster around curses and dedications. Many of the features found in dedications seem to represent new developments in the region, which may or may not have been affected by the bilingual environment. In some cases, one variant may have become more common because of contact with Greek rather than contact producing completely new forms. Evidence of Greek/Oscan contact is strongest in the curse tablets. As discussed in [Chapter 5](#), in these texts Greek features may have been part of a deliberate effort by the writer to increase the potency of the text. Just as certain formulae and syntactic structures are characteristic of some text types and not others, in a highly bilingual society the use of two languages in the same text may be thought appropriate in some circumstances and not others. This clustering of particular features around certain text types means that the language of an individual inscription must always be evaluated in the context of other inscriptions of the same genre, and not just in the context of the Oscan corpus as a whole.

[Table 24](#) focuses on summarising the linguistic evidence, and does not show the equally important role of Greek models in the physical forms used in South Oscan epigraphy. This debt to Greek forms is also genre-dependent. The weights and typologies of coin issues are the most obvious examples of direct continuity between Greek models and Oscan imitators. But Greek models are also a factor in the forms taken by curse tablets, funerary monuments and possibly also legal texts. The inscriptions written in the South Oscan region show that these

communities were taking part in the epigraphic habit of a wider Hellenistic world, and adapting this habit to their own needs.

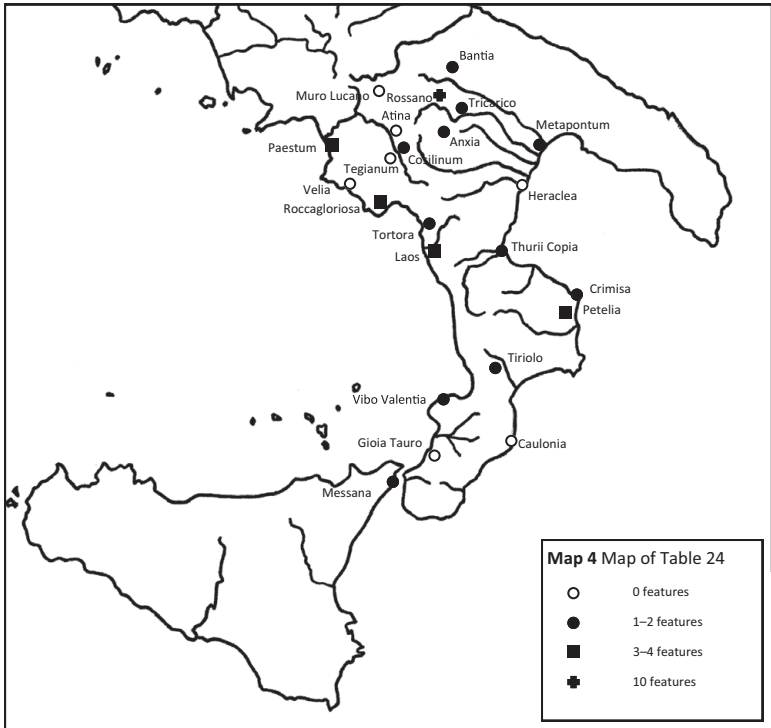
Regional and diachronic variation

If we were to guess at regional variation in the level of visible Greek influence on Oscan inscriptions, we might reasonably expect certain patterns. One possibility would be that coastal sites or sites closer to Greek cities would be more affected. This appears not to be the case: there are identifiable contact-induced phenomena at both inland and coastal sites, and not all coastal sites show any clear evidence of influence or borrowing from Greek (see [Map 4](#)).² Another hypothesis would be that cities that started as Greek foundations or had large Greek-speaking populations would show more linguistic evidence of contact with Greek. If this pattern existed, it has not emerged in the evidence: non-Greek sites like Rossano di Vaglio are well-represented.

In fact, there seem to be three main factors in the amount of evidence for Greek contact at any particular Oscan-speaking site. First, the larger the number of inscriptions, the greater the evidence of contact. Sites with only one or two extant Oscan or 'Pre-Samnite' inscriptions may not show any clear epigraphic or linguistic evidence of contact with Greek apart from the physical forms of the inscriptions, while the site with the most inscriptions, Rossano di Vaglio, shows by far the most evidence of contact. The type of site is highly relevant to how this pattern plays out. As a large sanctuary, Rossano's entire purpose was to act as a repository of inscriptions and other votives; there was never any reason to set up so many inscriptions at habitation sites. Second, an over-representation of certain kinds of inscriptions results in more evidence of Greek contact. Sites with curse tablets such as Laos, Roccagloriosa and Petelia are likely to show a greater number of contact-induced features. Any geographic patterns seem to be a matter of the availability

² [Map 4](#) does not include evidence from coin issues, many of which are not associated with a single site or were produced outside the city whose name they bear.

Conclusions



Map 4 Map of evidence summarised in [Table 24](#)

of certain kinds of evidence, and not clear evidence of regional variation.

Third, the growth of the political power of Rome affected the distribution of Oscan across the region. Areas where Oscan-speakers shifted to Latin particularly early may lack good evidence for Greek/Oscan contact through a lack of Oscan epigraphy. Paestum, for example, became a Latin colony in 273 BC, after which time Oscan was no longer in use at the site. This severely limits the amount of evidence of Greek/Oscan contact the site provides. Politics also affects sites like Laos and Caulonia, which were abandoned suddenly after the Second Punic War. We should therefore be cautious of reading this kind of lack of evidence as regional variation.

There are a few hints of usages that were specific to one area, though new evidence could dramatically change this picture. The curse tablets showing the NOM. (VERB) ACC. structure are all found in Bruttium rather than Lucania, which could be significant. There is also the possibility that Messina shows some differences from Lucania and Bruttium in the use of characters like psi and xi. Some phonological variation within this region, such as the palatalisation represented by the use of <Z> at Bantia, has already been proposed.³ The development of inherited *dy-* to *y-* found in the spelling $\iota\omicron\upsilon\phi\eta\iota$ in Lu 14 (Paestum 1) may indicate that Oscan in Paestum showed phonological similarities to that in Campania.⁴ There also appears to be an unusually high incidence of Greek morphology on Oscan-style names in the curse tablets of Laos, which may represent a highly localised preference. However, all of these conclusions are based on very small numbers of inscriptions, and cannot be taken as definitive evidence of local variation.

It is also very difficult to detect whether there was any change over time in the intensity of Greek/Oscan contact. In large part, this is because of the problems of dating the inscriptions, many of which are only datable to within a century or more. Since the written evidence of Oscan lasts less than four centuries, this means that we can only hope to observe very broad trends. From the fourth century to the second century, the contact situation appears to have been stable, with both Oscan and Greek maintaining high ethnolinguistic vitality. Some changes in orthography, such as the use of for /f/, may have taken place in the second century. The clearest changes are seen as Roman influence becomes more pronounced from the second century onwards. The best evidence for this is found in the *Tabula Bantina*, but also in the emergence of Roman-style funerary epigraphy.

Revisiting ancient language contact

The study of ancient language contact has been a huge area of growth in the past decade. There are now many monographs,

³ Rix 1996: 250.

⁴ Crawford 2011b: 50.

theses and edited volumes dealing with ancient language contact, some focusing on particular regions,⁵ and others covering a wide range of material.⁶ In this section, I will compare the contact between South Oscan and Greek described in the preceding chapters to some other ancient language contact situations, and provide some context for the results discussed above.

Greek/Oscan contact: Campania and Samnium

The Oscan and Greek inscriptions of Campania and Samnium have not received close treatment in the preceding chapters, primarily because they have been considered in other scholarship to a much greater extent than the South Oscan material. There are a number of similarities and differences in the evidence for contact with Greek in South and Central Oscan. The most obvious difference between the Central and South Oscan regions is, of course, the alphabet. Campania and Samnium typically use the Central (or ‘Native’) Oscan alphabet, which was created somewhat earlier than the South Oscan alphabet and is the result of different kinds of contact with Etruscan and Greek. The main basis for the Central Oscan alphabet is the Etruscan alphabet, although some knowledge of the Greek alphabet was involved, for example in the use of letters for voiced stops. Campania was also the region where a great deal of the early experimentation with alphabets took place, as discussed in [Chapter 3](#). A wide range of Greek alphabets were still in use when writing was first introduced in Campania, and many were used to write Italic texts including the Achaean, Euboean and Ionic alphabets.⁷ There are fewer early Italic texts in the south, perhaps due to less contact between Greek and other languages in Bruttium and Lucania before the spread of Oscan. The main parallels for early use of the alphabet in the south are the Tortora cippus (Ps 20, 500 BC) and an inscribed

⁵ Papaconstantinou 2010; Steele 2010; Tribulato 2012a; Mullen 2013.

⁶ Adams, Janse and Swain 2002; Adams 2003; Adams 2007; Biville, Decourt and Rougemont 2008; Ruiz Darasse and Luján Martínez 2011; Mullen and James 2012.

⁷ Achaean: Salernum 1, 2, 3, all 500–450 BC. Euboean: Cm 37 (Picentia 2), 425–400 BC. Ionic: Ps 10 (Minturnae 1), before 400 BC; Cm 31 (Picentia 3), c. 300 BC.

coarse-ware olla (Ps 1, 500–450 BC), both of which use the Achaean alphabet.

There is less evidence of code-switching and mixed-language texts in Campania and Samnium than in the south. There may be a dedicatory text on a black slip bowl which uses both the Greek and Central Oscan alphabets, but this is very abbreviated and the interpretation is not clear.⁸ As we have seen, curse tablets are the texts which are most associated with code-switching in the South Oscan area. No Central Oscan curses code-switch into Greek, although one seems to be a mixed Latin/Oscan text.⁹ In the Central area, curses tend to be longer and include more contextual material. The Central Oscan region may have been influenced by later developments in Greek curses, which tend to be longer and more detailed.

We find more evidence of loanwords in Campania and Samnium than in the south: this may be because of the larger number of longer texts.¹⁰ These loanwords include architectural forms, such as **perissty[lúm]** from Greek περίστυλον ‘peristyle’ (Cm 3/Abella 3). Weights and measures are also represented, for example **ka[d]íks** (= κάδιξ) and **kúníks** (= χοῖνιξ), on the *mensa ponderaria* at Pompeii (Po 19/Pompei 27) and **LIT** for the measurement λίτρα on a weight (Fr 9/Frentiae 1). Oscan in general also shares in the convergence in religious vocabulary across the languages of Italy, and some of this vocabulary is ultimately derived from Greek, including the the divine names **appelluneís**, ‘Apollo’, and **herekleís** ‘Heracles’.¹¹

In some ways, the evidence for Oscan/Greek contact shows similar patterns in the Central Oscan and South Oscan areas. We see evidence, for example, of artists and craftsmen being associated with Greek. For example, a potter at Teanum Sidicinum around 300 BC wrote his signature in both Oscan and Greek, but seems only to have used the Greek alphabet whatever language he was writing in.¹² A mixture of different

⁸ Cam.Luc.Bret.Sic 1, Crawford 2011b: 363. ⁹ Cm 15 (Cumae 10).

¹⁰ Lazzeroni 1972; Prosdociami 1976; Sironen 1982; Sironen 1987.

¹¹ Clackson and Horrocks 2007: 45.

¹² We find πλατωρ ουψε ‘Plator made (this)’ (Oscan) on a black slip plate (Teanum Sidicinum 25), and also πλατωρ εποι[η]σε ‘Plator made (this)’ (Greek) on a bowl also

alphabets were used in amphora stamps at Cumae around 100 BC (Cumae 24), and the Greek alphabet is sometimes used for stamps there as early as 300 BC (Cumae 22, 23). At Pompeii, a bi-alphabetic graffito by the owner or the maker of a lamp reads **δίύ**/διοφαντος (Po 90/Pompei 90). All of these small inscriptions indicate population movement, bilingualism and biliteracy, especially among craftsmen and artists.

In the coin legends of Campania and Samnium the predominant language is Greek, as in the south,¹³ but a mixture of alphabets is used on some coin issues. For example, the coinage of Campania (Campania Coinage 1, 265–240 BC) bears the legends νεοπολιτων and **akruuium makkis**, perhaps because of the re-use of a second-hand die from Naples.¹⁴ Cubulteria 1 similarly shows Oscan legends, but with Greek-letter die marks.

As in the far south, we do not find bi-version funerary inscriptions in Campania and Samnium. However, at Capua we find the use of Greek morphology on an Oscan name on a funerary stele, which reads: [πα]κκιος αρ[ρ]ιος νουιου (Capua 44, c. 250 BC). The monument on which this text appears is identical in design to another monument which bears a name in the Central Oscan alphabet: **pak(is). pumik(iis) pak(ieís)**.¹⁵

We therefore see plenty of evidence of interaction between Greek- and Oscan-speakers in the Central Oscan region, particularly in Campania. In some places, such as Naples and Cumae, contact is likely to have been more intense than in others. But while the coastal cities of Campania might show some of the clearest evidence, sites further inland such as Teanum Sidicinum were not excluded from contact with Greek. The Fr 9 weight and the adaptations of Greek models of architecture and religion at sites like Pietrabbondante show that Samnium had strong cultural connections to the Greek world.

from Teanum Sidicinum. Crawford suggests that he may have come to Teanum from Apulia, because of the association of the name Plator with Messapic – Crawford 2011b: 4; see also Zair 2013: 220.

¹³ Hurietes 1, Nola 1, Larinum 1, Teanum Apulum 1, Campania coinage 2, Capua 1, Cumae 1, Allifae 1.

¹⁴ Crawford 2011b: 380. ¹⁵ Cp 1 (Capua 43), c. 250 BC.

Greek/Oscan contact: the Greek world

Although Oscan inscriptions are found only in Italy, there is evidence of Oscan-speakers elsewhere in the Greek world. It can be difficult to identify Oscan-speakers who wrote texts exclusively in Greek. Onomastic evidence is the usual source of information, but this is not reliable for a number of reasons. We might suspect that a person speaks Oscan if their name is a two-part name of Oscan origin, or if they are given an ethnic indicating that they are Lucanian, Brettian or Italian. However, these markers do not always appear together, and the evidence can appear contradictory. All six ‘Lucanians’ attested in Athens, as well as a Lucanian and two Brettians attested on Rhodes, have Greek-style names.¹⁶ Similarly, the use of an Oscan-style name in a Greek-speaking area may indicate a family of Italian origin, but not necessarily that the individual could speak Oscan.

The use of Oscan-style names elsewhere in the Mediterranean can only give us a general sense of the spread of Oscan-speakers beyond the areas where Oscan epigraphy was used. A list of relevant inscriptions, up until the Social War, is given by Crawford.¹⁷ We find Oscan names in Sicily, particularly in Messina, Entella and Lipara, and also in the Greek cities of Italy such as Locri, Rhegium, Cumae, Naples and Pithecusae. It is not surprising that there would be ongoing contact and population movement around Italy, but it is helpful to highlight that it did take place. There are also several inscriptions relating to people identified as Italian with Oscan-style names found on Delos, Delphi and Rhodes.¹⁸ The possible evidence for Oscan-speakers on Delos from at least the second century BC has already been discussed in [Chapter 7](#). Where Greek was the dominant language, Oscan-speakers seem to have responded to economic and social pressure by shifting to Greek quickly, probably in both their written and spoken language.

¹⁶ Crawford 2011b: 1525. ¹⁷ Crawford 2011b: 1525–34.

¹⁸ To give just a few examples: μινάτοσ μινάτου (h)ηηιοσ, *ID* 442B, 443B (Delos); [-?]-βίβιου λευκανοσ, *FD* III. 4. 134 (Delphi); νουιοσ λευκανοσ and μαρὰ βρεττία, Bresson 2002: 149 (Rhodes).

Latin/Oscan contact

Latin/Oscan contact has been dealt with in much more detail than any other language contact situation affecting Oscan, both in general and on a local level at sites such as Pompeii.¹⁹ Oscan behaves very differently in contact with Latin than it does in contact with Greek. In Greek/Oscan contact situations we can see the interaction of two languages of relatively equal status. While Greek might have been associated with certain domains, and was even used as a prestigious lingua franca in some contexts, Oscan does not seem to have been under particular pressure. In contrast, Latin grew in prestige very quickly even while Oscan was still in use. The ultimate result of Latin/Oscan contact was a shift to Latin, and the death of Oscan.²⁰ Already in the second century BC, Oscan had absorbed many loanwords from Latin, especially loans of official and political terms such as **senateís**, ‘(of) the senate’, names of magistracies such as κενσορτατη, ‘censorship’, **kvaísstur**, ‘quaestor’, **aídíl**, ‘aedile’, and so on.²¹ The syntax and phraseology of official inscriptions also show considerable influence of Latin from the second century.²² In 180 BC, we have evidence of Cumae currying favour with Rome by asking permission to use Latin for their official business.²³ By the time of the Tabula Bantina, written *c.* 90 BC in Lucania but in the Latin alphabet, it seems that Latin was the primary model for official and legal writing in Oscan.²⁴ Latin was not only used for high-prestige public epigraphy: we also find evidence of Oscan and Latin being used side by side in everyday situations, such as the inscription by two female workers at a tile factory in Pietrabbondante.²⁵

¹⁹ Campanile 1976; Coleman 1986; Eska 1987; Cooley 2002; Adams 2003: 111–59; Clackson and Horrocks 2007: 37–49, 57–65; Willi 2009; Langslow 2012; McDonald 2012b.

²⁰ Wallace 2008: 96.

²¹ Dupraz 2010: 456; Langslow 2012: 298; McDonald 2012b: 10–12.

²² Poccetti 1982: 239; Adams 2003: 137; Crawford 2011b: 2; McDonald 2012b: 51.

²³ Livy 40.43.1. Adams 2003: 113. See also Chapter 1.

²⁴ Crawford 1996; Crawford 2011b: 2.

²⁵ Sa 35 (Teruentum 25). Clackson 2012a: 41–2.

After the Social War (91–88 BC), Latin would have seemed to have more socio-economic advantages than before. Roman citizenship, in particular, would probably have been seen as something to aspire to because of the legal protection it afforded, despite the conflicts around the enfranchisement of the peoples of Italy not being resolved until the middle of the century.²⁶ The large-scale movement of veterans and colonists around Italy during the last few decades of the Republic would also have necessitated the more widespread use of Latin as a *lingua franca*. The epigraphic evidence of Oscan probably ends soon after the Social War, and it is likely that spoken Oscan died out some time in the early Imperial period.²⁷

It has been suggested that some of the latest attestations of Oscan epigraphy show the language being used as a self-conscious marker of ethnic or political identity.²⁸ If this is the case, then it seems to have been contact and interaction with Latin which made the Oscan language a marker of identity where it had not been previously.²⁹ The last substantial texts written in Oscan date from around the Social War with Rome, by which time many Oscan-speakers were likely to have been bilingual in Latin. These inscriptions include the *eituns* inscriptions of Pompeii (Po 34–9/Pompei 2–7), the Oscan Social War coinage (Italia 1) and the Tabula Bantina (Lu 1/Bantia 1). These texts show the imprint of Latin: for example, in the Latin influence on the content and formulation of the Tabula Bantina, and the production of bilingual Latin/Oscan issues of Social War coinage. We might therefore see the use of Oscan as a statement of solidarity during a time of war with Rome.³⁰

However, it is possible to overstate this, since we do not know that the Oscan language was a salient feature of any ethnic group identity.³¹ For example, the Social War coinage includes some Latin-only series, and it is possible that the bilingual Latin/Oscan issues were intended for circulation in areas

²⁶ See [Chapter 1](#). ²⁷ Willi 2009: 592; McDonald 2012b: 54–5.

²⁸ Willi 2009: 594; Lomas 2008: 124.

²⁹ Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 89; Lomas 2008: 124–15.

³⁰ Willi 2009: 594. ³¹ Clackson 2015b: 74–8.

where Oscan was still widely spoken, and not as a political statement.³² The language was probably of secondary importance to the iconography of the coins, which featured a wolf (the symbol of Rome) being trampled by a bull (the symbol of Italy). A document such as the Tabula Bantina could be seen as a town's attempt to negotiate a local identity in the mould of a Roman colony, rather than an anti-Roman statement.³³ The situation at Bantia is particularly unclear, since we do not know which language they were using before the writing of the Tabula Bantina. However, if people did take pride in speaking and writing Oscan, this pride did not last long after the Roman victory. Despite some suggestions that inscriptions were recopied in the first century AD, there is no strong evidence for Latin-speakers in previously Oscan-speaking areas showing any attachment to Oscan during the Imperial period.³⁴

Greek/Gaulish and Latin/Gaulish contact

Although Latin/Oscan contact is very different in nature from Greek/Oscan contact, it is possible to find other ancient language contact situations which mirror both. For example, Gaulish is comparable to Oscan in some respects in how it reacts to contact with Latin and Greek. Work on contact between Greek and Gaulish, in particular, has increased in the past few years, and provides another example of relatively stable bilingualism between Greek and a local language in the Western Mediterranean.³⁵ Gaulish therefore provides a helpful point of comparison for our analysis of South Oscan.

Inscriptions in Gaulish written in Greek characters, known as Gallo-Greek, are largely dated to the second and first century BC, though the earliest examples are from the third century.³⁶ The adaptation of the Greek alphabet to write the local language therefore seems to have occurred somewhat later than in both the Central and South Oscan areas, despite the permanent presence of Greeks in Southern Gaul from around

³² Clackson 2015b: 75. ³³ Bispham 2007: 145–7.

³⁴ McDonald 2012b: 52–3. ³⁵ Mullen 2011; Mullen 2013.

³⁶ Mullen 2013: 38; Eska 2008: 165.

600 BC. The use of both the Greek and Gaulish languages seems to have been relatively stable for several centuries. Greek was apparently associated with certain domains such as commerce because of its status as a *lingua franca*. We can see this, for example, in the use of Greek in commercial letters on lead.³⁷ Though we have very little evidence of commercial documents in Oscan-speaking Southern Italy, we might compare the apparent commercial use of Greek on a piece of lead later re-used as a curse tablet at Roccagloriosa (Lu 45/Buxentum 2). The association of Greek with craftsmen, especially makers of high-quality goods, also appears to be present in Southern Gaul. Greek inscriptions are, in general, much less common in Southern Gaul than in Italy, but the small corpus of Greek that exists is dominated by artists' signatures on high-quality products such as mirrors, glass vessels, rings and vases.³⁸ However, this evidence is primarily from the Roman Imperial period, and is not therefore directly comparable to what we find in Southern Italy, though it shows a similar pattern.

There are also notable points of similarity between curse tablets and dedications in Gaul and Italy. Several examples of curse tablets show Latin and Greek mixed with Gaulish.³⁹ These texts do not represent a spoken mixed language, but an attempt to increase the potency of the text.⁴⁰ As in Italy, the use of curse tablets was derived from contact with Greek-speakers, and the development of local practices in these bilingual areas included the tendency to mix languages and scripts. One dedication formula shows a possible link between South Oscan and Gaulish: the Gaulish dedication formula *dedebratoudekanten* may have arisen in a similar environment to *brateis datas* in Oscan (see [Chapter 4](#)). The similarity between the Gaulish and Oscan formulae suggests that these areas were not just both subject to Greek influence, but were in fact joined into wider networks that stretched across the Hellenistic world.⁴¹

Just like Oscan, the Gaulish language's period of contact with Greek was followed by a much more intense period

³⁷ Bats 2011: 201.

³⁸ Mullen 2013: 273.

³⁹ Mullen 2013: 64.

⁴⁰ Mullen 2013: 64.

⁴¹ Mullen 2013: 205.

of contact with Latin. After the Roman conquest of the region, there was a rapid disappearance of Gaulish written in Greek script. Gaulish was written for a time in Latin script before the area shifted to using only the Latin language in epigraphy.⁴² However, spoken Gaulish probably survived for longer than Oscan, until some time during the first millennium AD.⁴³ Gaul's political position in the Late Republic and Early Empire was very different from Italy's, and without Italy's universal grant of citizenship and proximity to Rome there was less immediate pressure on the Gaulish language.

Models of ancient language contact

One of the challenges facing ancient sociolinguistics at present is the need to create models which explain the effects of different kinds of language contact on epigraphic texts. Ideally, these would apply across a wide range of situations and regions, and could be used diagnostically to reconstruct the social situation from a very limited corpus of texts. As mentioned in [Chapter 2](#), Mullen has recently proposed several possible models, based on Gaulish/Greek/Latin contact in Southern Gaul ([Table 25](#)).⁴⁴ Now that we have explored the results of contact in South Oscan, it is possible to develop this model further.

First, the presence or absence of bi-version texts, in which the same or nearly the same information is conveyed in two different languages within the same text, is not as diagnostic as Mullen's model implies. The presence of bi-version texts is dependent on the epigraphic habit of the communities involved, not just the nature of the contact between the languages. The vast majority of ancient bi-version texts are funerary, with the deliberate use of different languages designed to express a mixed identity.⁴⁵ The lack of funerary epigraphy in Oscan-speaking communities makes this text type much less likely without this being a sign that contact was less intense or that only one language was in regular use.

⁴² Clackson [2012a](#): 42.

⁴³ Eska [2008](#): 165.

⁴⁴ Mullen [2013](#): 305–6.

⁴⁵ Mullen [2013](#): 64.

Table 25 *Models of language contact, after Mullen (2012, 2013)*

Type of community	One language			Two (or more) languages	
	Closed	Open, high ethnolinguistic vitality	Open, low ethnolinguistic vitality	Even ethnolinguistic vitality	Uneven ethnolinguistic vitality
Types of bilingual texts	No bi-version. No texts displaying bilingual phenomena.	No bi-version. Few texts displaying bilingual phenomena, perhaps including lexical borrowing.	No bi-version. Texts displaying bilingual phenomena involving lexical borrowing, perhaps tag-switching.	Bi-version common. Texts displaying bilingual phenomena involving code-switching, borrowing, interference. Bi-directional influence.	Fewer bi-version texts. Texts displaying bilingual phenomena involving code-switching, borrowing, interference. Linguistic features of the higher vitality group are mostly found in the lower.

Table 26 *Domain and genre in language contact*

Type of community	One language			Two (or more) languages	
	Closed	Open, high ethnolinguistic vitality	Open, low ethnolinguistic vitality	Even ethnolinguistic vitality	Uneven ethnolinguistic vitality
Domains	One language used in all domains.	One language used in all domains.	One primary language used in all domains. Borrowing may be limited to certain domains.	Languages may be specialised to different domains.	Languages may be specialised to different domains. Higher vitality language may be used in majority of domains, or show signs of taking over domains of lower vitality language.

Second, it is important to take into account the types of texts produced and the types of texts which survive, since these may potentially have a huge impact on where we place a community within this model. For example, I hope to have shown that Laos does not necessarily show more or less intense contact between Oscan and Greek than Rossano di Vaglio based on the epigraphic evidence. Rather, the sites are of different types – habitation vs. large sanctuary – and as a result the texts from these sites belong to different genres that had different norms. Taking this model too literally, we could be in danger of seeing regional or local variation in epigraphic practice where in fact the difference is one of domain or genre. The possibility of one language being specialised into certain domains is also an important consideration. We can see from the South Oscan situation that the prestige of Greek in some domains does not mean that Greek was presitigious in *all* domains, nor that a language shift was in progress. In fact, the association of Greek with particular domains could be a feature of a relatively stable language maintenance situation.⁴⁶ I would propose an addition to this model to help us take into account the effect of genre and domain in ancient bilingual situations (Table 26). This is intended to be applicable to all ancient contact situations, and is open to further refinements following investigations of more language contact situations.

We can use this model to get a sense of the intensity of Oscan/Greek contact in Lucania, Bruttium and Messana in comparison with other language contact situations. South Oscan displays a range of language contact phenomena, including code-switching, borrowing and interference. As discussed above, the lack of bi-version texts does not necessarily indicate that South Oscan belongs under the ‘one language’ section of the model in the light of these other indications of contact. There is more evidence of Greek influence on Oscan than Oscan influence on Greek, though some Greek texts may

⁴⁶ For similar evidence in late antique Gaul (Gaulish/Latin) and Pietrabbondante (Oscan/Latin), see Clackson 2012a: 45.

Conclusions

show lexical borrowing or borrowing of idioms from Oscan, such as the dating formula in Potentia 39.

This suggests that the relative ethnolinguistic vitality of South Oscan and Greek may have varied somewhat between sites and time periods. This fits easily with our knowledge of the history of Southern Italy. It is easy to imagine that Greek may have had clearer prestige or more speakers in some communities than in others. At the same time, we have little evidence of Greek ousting Oscan across the whole region, and in some areas balanced bilingualism may have been the norm. Latin/Oscan contact belongs securely in the right-hand column of the table, since the direction of influence was overwhelmingly from Latin to Oscan, and Oscan's ethnolinguistic vitality was heavily depleted by the growing prestige of Latin.

Salaus uale

The South Oscan corpus, and the archaeology of the regions of Lucania, Bruttium and the city of Messana, will continue to change. There will always be new discoveries, whether they are inscriptions, uninscribed objects, habitations, sanctuaries or necropoleis, and these discoveries will expand our understanding of contact between different peoples and languages in the region. As our knowledge continues to expand, we should continue to build upon scholars' recent effort to bring together information from different fields. This should be a much easier task because of the publication of corpora like *Imagines Italicae*, but I hope that books like this one provide a starting point for historians and archaeologists of Southern Italy who are interested in language contact.

The study of language contact in Southern Italy, or any region, also has a wider relevance to our understanding of the ancient world. As more and more studies of different kinds of language contact in various regions are published, there will be huge opportunities for pan-Mediterranean considerations of the material. The models and frameworks discussed in this book are therefore intended to be applicable to a wide range of ancient language contact situations, particularly those which

involve sparsely attested languages. Using regional studies as building blocks for creating a wider understanding of ancient languages will be a central strand in historical sociolinguistics in the coming years, because fragmentary languages are anything but marginal in the study of the ancient world. Languages like Oscan represent the surviving epigraphic evidence of communities who were part of cultural networks connecting the whole Mediterranean, and scholarship is just beginning to appreciate how much we can learn from them.

APPENDIX I

CATALOGUE OF SITES

This appendix gives a few brief comments on our knowledge of the history and archaeology of the sites associated with South Oscan inscriptions. The sites are listed in the same order they are listed in Crawford (2011b). Names listed with slashes, such as Elea/Velia, indicate two ancient names; a name in parentheses indicates a modern place name. When the ancient name of a site is not known, only the modern place name is given. The inscriptions associated with each site are also listed. Greek-language inscriptions are underlined. For more information on archaeological sites in Lucania and additional bibliography, see the catalogues of sites in Isayev 2007 and Horsnaes 2002.¹ For the history of the whole region, see also the discussion and references in Chapter 1.

Lucania

Poseidonial/Paestum

Lu 14 (Paestum 1), Lu 42 (Paestum 3), Paestum 2, Paestum 4

Paestum was originally founded from Sybaris in the seventh century BC.² By the end of the fifth century, according to the traditional narrative, the Oscan-speaking Lucani had invaded the plain, occupying the city, and a Lucanian ruling class was created.³ The archaeology shows no evidence of a violent conquest of the city, with no destruction layer and few signs of major changes to the city and its monuments, and there seem to have been non-Greeks present in the city for a considerable period before the supposed time of the invasion.⁴

Whether or not the ‘invasion’ model is accurate, the site is often assumed to have experienced a change-over of elites in some sense. The chronology of the change-over is far from clear, since there are more Greek than Oscan inscriptions dated after 400 BC.⁵ There does seem to have been an increase in population, or at least a larger number of cemeteries, from around 400 BC onwards.⁶ The types of tombs and deposits also changed, from simple tombs covered with tiles to lavish painted tombs often containing armour and luxury goods.⁷ Note that, although ‘Lucanian’ is the standard term for the

¹ Isayev 2007: 199–234; Horsnaes 2002: 139–77.

² Cerchiai 2004: 62. Strabo 6.1.1. ³ See Chapter 1.

⁴ Wonder 2002: 41; Isayev 2007: 114–16. ⁵ Crawford 2006: 61.

⁶ Pedley 1990: 98–9. ⁷ Isayev 2007: 114.

Appendix 1

Oscan-speaking population at Paestum, some details of the Oscan-language inscriptions have closer parallels in Campanian Oscan.⁸

We have an unusually detailed near-contemporary comment on the language shift situation in Paestum. Aristoxenus of Tarentum describes the change in both practices (ἐπιτιθήδευμα) and language (φωνή) at Paestum.⁹

We [the Tarentines] are acting like the people of Poseidonia, who live on the Tyrrhenian Gulf. What happened is that although they were originally Greeks, they have been completely barbarised, becoming Etruscans or Romans; they changed their language and their other practices. But they still celebrate one Greek festival to this day, where they gather together and remember their ancient words and institutions, and after wailing about them and weeping over them with one another they go home.

By ‘Etruscans and Romans’, Aristoxenus appears to mean the Oscan-speakers of the area. There are reasons to take his dramatic description with a pinch of salt, since Aristoxenus was complaining primarily about the influence of Romans at Tarentum in his own time, particularly on the standard of musical performances, using Oscan-speaking Poseidonia as a metaphor. There is no evidence that Greeks were subordinated in the way described.¹⁰

Paestum became a Latin colony in 273 BC.¹¹ At this time, the original Greek council building (*ekklesiasterion*) was destroyed and filled in. This was the findspot of Lu 14 (Paestum 1), among other evidence of the Greek and Lucanian periods of the town. The city survived as a much smaller site into the Imperial period, when it was famous for its roses.¹²

Elea/Velia

tLu 15 (Velia 1)

Elea was an Ionic Greek settlement founded c. 540 BC.¹³ It remained a ‘Greek’ city throughout its history, and was home to the philosophers Parmenides and Zeno of Elea.¹⁴ It may have been conquered by Rome in 293, during the Third Samnite War, but Livy may be referring to another city with the same name.¹⁵ It seems to have become a Roman ally in 272 and remained loyal to Rome during the Hannibalic War, supplying ships to the Roman navy.¹⁶ Velia was incorporated as a Roman *municipium* in 88 BC, and survived into the Imperial period.

⁸ Crawford 2011b: 50.

⁹ The text is preserved in Athenaeus *Deipno.* 14.632, and normally placed in the second half of the fourth or the early third century BC.

¹⁰ Wonder 2002. ¹¹ Gualtieri 2003: 19.

¹² E.g. Virgil, *Georgics* 4.118; Ov. *Met.* 15.708; Martial 4.41.10, 5.37.9.

¹³ Strabo 6.1.1; Herodotus 1.167. ¹⁴ Strabo 6.1.1.

¹⁵ Livy 10.44.8–9; Fronda 2010: 207.

¹⁶ Fronda 2010: 207 n. 85. Polybius 1.20.14; Livy 26.39.5.

Appendix 1

(Roccagloriosa)

Lu 62 (Buxentum 1), Lu 45 (Buxentum 3), Buxentum 2

The site at Roccagloriosa has been excavated and published by Gualtieri and Fracchia.¹⁷ The earliest evidence of habitation dates from the fifth century BC, though we do not know the name of this Oscan-speaking settlement.¹⁸ Roccagloriosa was a centre of population, surrounded by countryside characterised by a dense distribution of scattered farms. Its city walls date to the first half of the fourth century BC.¹⁹ It had a large ‘public’ building on a central plateau, but the exact function of this is not known; its organisation and layout seem to be influenced both by typical Italic hilltop fortified sites and the use of public buildings in Italiote Greek sites.²⁰

Roccagloriosa survived the third century, but much reduced in size and with considerable restructuring of the site.²¹ Around 275, the aristocratic houses on the central plateau were abandoned, though the shrine was left intact and continued to be used.²² The site ceased to function as a major regional centre after the end of the Hannibalic War; the Roman colony of Buxentum was founded 10 km away from Roccagloriosa in 194 BC, near the site of Greek Pyxous.²³

(Tortora)

Ps 20 (Blanda 1)

Two Archaic period archaeological sites are situated above the modern town of Tortora. At the S. Brancato site, part of a sixth/fifth century cemetery has been excavated, with Attic pottery among the grave goods.²⁴ The inscribed cippus Ps 20 was found 150m east of this cemetery.²⁵ On the Palecastro hill, there are an Archaic-era tomb and Roman remains perhaps associated with the later Roman colony Blanda Iulia.²⁶

(Castelluccio)

Ps 1 (Nerulum 1)

Castelluccio has been proposed as the ancient site of Nerulum, mentioned by Livy as one of the sites conquered by Rome at the end of the fourth century BC.²⁷ Burial deposits and the remains of structures suggest that the settlement survived until the beginning of the third century BC.²⁸

¹⁷ Gualtieri and Fracchia 1990; Gualtieri and Fracchia 2001.

¹⁸ Isayev 2007: 223.

¹⁹ Crawford 2011b: 1329.

²⁰ Gualtieri 2004: 45–6.

²¹ Gualtieri 2008: 396.

²² Fracchia 2004: 81.

²³ Fracchia and Gualtieri 2011: 15.

²⁴ Horsnaes 2002: 173.

²⁵ Lazzarini and Poccetti 2001.

²⁶ Horsnaes 2002: 174.

²⁷ Livy 9.20.7–9.

²⁸ Isayev 2007: 204.

Appendix 1

Laos (Marcellina)

Laos 1 (coinage), *Lu 46 (Laos 2)*, *Lu 63 (Laos 3)*, *Laos 4*

The Greek settlement of Laos, founded at the end of the sixth century BC from Sybaris, is attested by literary sources and coinage, but as yet has not been found.²⁹ It is thought that the site was moved to Marcellina, c. 350–325 BC; the link between the original Greek settlement and the site found at Marcellina is not completely clear.³⁰ The walls of the Marcellina site, which enclose an area about the same size as Pompeii (around 66 hectares), have been dated to the end of the fourth century.³¹ The settlement, which includes habitations as well as public buildings and open areas, was built around the same time as the walls, and is organised around a regular street grid.³² Marcellina was abandoned during the Second Punic War.³³ The population appears to have left in a hurry, but the site does not show evidence of deliberate destruction.³⁴

Volcei (Buccino)

Volcei 1 (coinage)

The Volcei 1 coinage was found at Buccino; there are a number of settlements around the modern town, one of which is thought to be ancient Volcei. The earliest material evidence dates to the seventh century.³⁵ This site was a fortified centre, later covered by a Roman settlement of the second century BC and then a mediaeval site; burials at the site date from the seventh to the fourth century BC.³⁶ Other surrounding sites include a large third–second century sanctuary about 1.5 km away, and a luxurious villa constructed in the first century BC.³⁷ Volcei supported Hannibal in the Second Punic War, but surrendered to Rome in 209 BC.³⁸

Atina (Atena Lucana)

Lu 2 (Atina Lucana 1)

Atina, Cosilinum and Teganum were major sites of the large, fertile Vallo di Diano. Tombs have been found in the area dating from the first half of the seventh century to the early third century, along with remains of habitations.³⁹ There is little evidence of early occupation at the site itself other than remains of a large double circuit wall around the fourth-century

²⁹ Crawford 2011b: 50. ³⁰ Crawford 2011b: 50. ³¹ Isayev 2007: 212.

³² Isayev 2007: 212. ³³ Greco and La Torre 1999: 56. ³⁴ Isayev 2007: 212.

³⁵ Horsnaes 2002: 142. ³⁶ Isayev 2007: 203.

³⁷ Isayev 2007: 203; Horsnaes 2002: 143. ³⁸ Livy 27.15.2.

³⁹ Horsnaes 2002: 141.

Appendix 1

settlement.⁴⁰ The archaeology may show a destruction layer *c.* 280 BC, and the site was probably abandoned around this time.⁴¹ It may have eventually been turned into a Roman *municipium*.⁴²

Cosilinum (near Padula)

Lu 3 (Cosilinum 1), Lu 40 (Cosilinum 2)

More than forty tombs have been excavated around the modern town of Padula, with material from the sixth to second centuries BC, including the fifth-century Valle Pupina cemetery, which has bronze dining equipment and Attic black- and red-figure pottery.⁴³ There is evidence of a double circuit wall constructed in the fourth century.⁴⁴ Fragments of pottery from the second half of the fourth century have also been found near the site of the Roman town.⁴⁵

Tegianum (Teggiano)

Lu 41 (Tegianum 1)

Tegianum was a Lucanian fortified settlement of the fourth century BC, later incorporated as a Roman *municipium*.⁴⁶ Fragments of the original walls are preserved in modern structures. The Teggiano Painter was a local red-figure vase painter, whose work has been found in a number of tombs around the modern town.⁴⁷ The site may have been expanded and made into a Roman colony under Nero.⁴⁸

(Muro Lucano)

Lu 4 (Numistro 1), Numistro 2 (found at Baragiano)

Muro Lucano was a fortified site, with material mostly dating from the fourth and early third centuries BC.⁴⁹ The dedicatory inscription by Mais Arries is probably associated with the building of the fortification walls during the early third century.⁵⁰ It has been argued that this may be the ancient centre of Numistro mentioned in the literary sources, which would mean the site survived until the end of the third century BC, and supported Hannibal in the Second Punic War.⁵¹

⁴⁰ Horsnaes 2002: 141. ⁴¹ Horsnaes 2002: 141. ⁴² Isayev 2007: 124.

⁴³ Isayev 2007: 124; Horsnaes 2002: 97, 113, 153.

⁴⁴ Isayev 2007: 177; Horsnaes 2002: 45. ⁴⁵ Horsnaes 2002: 153.

⁴⁶ Isayev 2007: 230. ⁴⁷ d'Agostino 1981: 186–90; Horsnaes 2002: 173.

⁴⁸ Pliny, *HN* 3.98. ⁴⁹ Isayev 2007: 69. ⁵⁰ See Chapter 7.

⁵¹ Plut. *Marc.* 24; Pliny, *NH* 3.15. Isayev 2007: 217.

Appendix 1

(Rossano di Vaglio)

Lu 5 (*Potentia* 1), Lu 6 (*Potentia* 9), Lu 7 (*Potentia* 10), Lu 8 (*Potentia* 3), Lu 9 (*Potentia* 6 and 8), Lu 10 (*Potentia* 4), Lu 11 (*Potentia* 5), Lu 12 (*Potentia* 2), Lu 15 (*Potentia* 17), Lu 16 (*Potentia* 13), Lu 17 (*Potentia* 32), Lu 20 (*Potentia* 26), Lu 21 (*Potentia* 25), Lu 22 (*Potentia* 28), Lu 27 (*Potentia* 12), Lu 28 (*Potentia* 20), Lu 29 (*Potentia* 21), Lu 30 (*Potentia* 24), Lu 31 (*Potentia* 22), Lu 32 (*Potentia* 16), Lu 33 (*Potentia* 15), Lu 34 (*Potentia* 14), Lu 35 (*Potentia* 11), Lu 36 (*Potentia* 19), Lu 57 (*Potentia* 30), Lu 59 (*Potentia* 31), Lu 60 (*Potentia* 27 and 34), Lu 64 (*Potentia* 23), *Potentia* 7, *Potentia* 18, *Potentia* 29, *Potentia* 33, *Potentia* 35, *Potentia* 36, *Potentia* 38

Rossano seems to have been a centralised cult site sacred to Mefitis, used by a number of communities in the area.⁵² A large sanctuary of Mefitis, the largest known cult complex in Lucania,⁵³ existed at Rossano di Vaglio from the mid-fourth century, around the time when many of the fortified settlements in the surrounding area were being rebuilt or created. There was a phase of rebuilding, partly due to landslides, in the late third and second centuries BC.⁵⁴ Around 200 BC, the number of private dedications at the site drops off, and it continues as a more official, organised site for dedications by magistrates and public bodies.⁵⁵ Many of the older private dedications, as well as some of the official dedications, seem to have been re-used in later building work, so that most of the inscriptions were not found in situ.⁵⁶ Another phase of rebuilding took place later in the late second to early first century.⁵⁷ As well as inscriptions, the votive deposits from Rossano include jewellery, ceramics, armour, terracotta statuettes, marble statues and over one thousand coins.⁵⁸ The sanctuary continued in use into Roman Republican times, but in the Roman Imperial period the cult transferred to the neighbouring *municipium* of *Potentia*.⁵⁹

(Serra di Vaglio)

Potentia 39

Serra di Vaglio, near Rossano di Vaglio, is the largest known non-Greek settlement in Lucania.⁶⁰ There is evidence of habitation from the early Bronze Age, with increased building activity and an expansion of population in the sixth and fifth centuries BC.⁶¹ The site reached its peak of population

⁵² Lejeune 1990: 36. ⁵³ Isayev 2007: 224. ⁵⁴ Isayev 2007: 224.

⁵⁵ Crawford argues for a swift, organised monumentalisation c. 200 BC, rather than a longer period of additions and changes. For his discussion of the chronology of the site, based on unpublished coinage, see: Crawford 2011b: 51–4.

⁵⁶ Lejeune 1990; Crawford 2011b: 51–3. ⁵⁷ Isayev 2007: 224.

⁵⁸ Isayev 2007: 224. ⁵⁹ De Cazanove 2000: 73–4.

⁶⁰ Isayev 2007: 228. ⁶¹ Greco 1980; Greco 1982.

Appendix 1

in the mid-fourth century BC, when a fortification wall was also built – an inscription in Greek by an *archon* Nummelos is associated with this fortification.⁶² After an apparent period of decline, the site was destroyed in the mid-third century BC.⁶³

(Tricarico)

Lu 13 (Potentia 40), tLu 1 (Potentia 44), tLu 10 (Potentia 42), Potentia 43
Tricarico is a smaller habitation site, also near Rossano di Vaglio. There is no evidence of habitation at the site before the fourth century BC.⁶⁴ A public building identified as a third-century banquet hall has also been found.⁶⁵ The first phase of settlement included the building of fortification walls, with a series of entrances and towers.⁶⁶ It survived a little longer than Serra, until around the Hannibalic War.⁶⁷ A new house and temple were built on the acropolis during the second century; both have remains of tiles inscribed in Oscan, perhaps relating either to the owner of the house or the tile producer.⁶⁸ The house was destroyed in the first century BC.

Potentia (Potenza)

Potentia 37, Potentia 41

Potentia was a Roman colony founded in 184 BC.⁶⁹ It is not completely clear whether Potentia fought on the Roman side throughout the Second Punic War, but it may have defected and been punished on its recapture.⁷⁰ The cult that had been maintained at Rossano was transferred here in the Imperial period (see above).

Anxia (Anzi)

Lu 39 (Anxia 1), Anxia 2

The remains of the settlement at Anxia date to the fifth century BC, with fortification walls dated to the late fourth century.⁷¹ Some tombs have also been found, with wall paintings and deposits of fine wares, silver and gold.⁷² There is little to suggest habitation at the site after the fourth century, apart from the third-century Oscan inscription Lu 39.⁷³

⁶² Isayev 2007: 228. See also Chapter 7. ⁶³ Isayev 2007: 228.

⁶⁴ Isayev 2007: 206. ⁶⁵ Horsnaes 2002: 49. ⁶⁶ Horsnaes 2002: 47.

⁶⁷ De Cazanove 2001 for a summary of the site; Isayev 2007: 81–4.

⁶⁸ Isayev 2007: 206. ⁶⁹ Livy, *Per.* Book 39; Pliny, *NH* 3.15.

⁷⁰ Fronda 2010: 206. ⁷¹ Horsnaes 2002: 43; Isayev 2007: 77.

⁷² Isayev 2007: 199. ⁷³ Isayev 2007: 199.

Appendix 1

Bantia (Banzi)

Lu 1 (Bantia 1) = Tabula Bantina, Lu 38 (Bantia 2), Bantia 3

A large settlement was founded on this site in the fourth century BC, though there is evidence of earlier habitation on the same site; the material from the necropolis dates to the seventh–fourth centuries.⁷⁴ Very little is known about its history or relationship to Rome before the Social War, though it is later mentioned by Pliny.⁷⁵ It is known mainly for the Tabula Bantina, the fragment of an Oscan legal text dated to around 100–90 BC, just before the Social War.⁷⁶ It was incorporated as a Roman *municipium* at some point between 80 and 60 BC.⁷⁷

Metapontum (Metaponto)

Lu 37 (Metapontum 1), Metapontum 2, SGD 124

Metapontum was founded as an Achaean Greek settlement in the seventh century BC. Early evidence of destruction and abandonment in the surrounding territory suggests difficult relations with the existing population.⁷⁸ There is evidence of a great deal of mixture and intermarriage with the Italian population by the sixth century BC.⁷⁹ The site shows decline by the mid-fifth century, with a resurgence of building from the mid-fourth century to the early third century. There were close links between Italian and Greek communities, with a strong Lucanian presence at the site itself, from the fourth century BC.⁸⁰ It supported Hannibal in the Second Punic War.⁸¹ By the second century BC the settlement had shrunk dramatically, though it still existed in the Late Republic.⁸² The site was in ruins by Pausanias' time.⁸³

Heraclea

Lu 61 (Heraclea 2) (found at Montegiordano), Heraclea 1

Heraclea was a Doric settlement founded by Taras/Tarentum in 433, probably on the site of ancient Siris.⁸⁴ The fortification walls and urban layout belong to the fourth century BC. Heraclea was an important site in the fifth and fourth centuries, and the leadership of the Italiote league was transferred there in 387.⁸⁵ It became a Roman ally in 278 BC after Rome's first battle with Pyrrhus took place there, but revolted in the Hannibalic War.⁸⁶ It became

⁷⁴ Isayev 2007: 174.

⁷⁷ Torelli 1995: 111.

⁸⁰ Carter 2004: 388.

⁸² Appian, *B. Civ.* 5.93; Cicero, *De Fin.* 5.2.

⁸⁴ Graham 1982b: 173–4.

⁸⁶ Isayev 2007: 148.

⁷⁵ Pliny, *NH* 3.15.

⁷⁸ Isayev 2007: 86–7.

⁸¹ Livy 27.42.15.

⁸⁵ Isayev 2007: 90.

⁷⁶ See Chapter 6.

⁷⁹ Carter 2004: 388–9.

⁸³ Pausanias 6.19.11.

Appendix 1

a *municipium* around 89 BC, and the municipal regulations survive on the bronze tablets known as the *Tabulae Heracleenses*.⁸⁷

Grumentum

Grumentum 1 (coinage)

Grumentum is a site in the Agri valley most famous for two Archaic-era bronze statuettes of horsemen, one of which is now in the British Museum. There is limited archaeological evidence of habitation in the Archaic or Classical periods at the site – Grumentum is probably the only site in Lucania which was founded at the beginning of the third century.⁸⁸ There is some question over whether or not the coins with the legend ΓΡΥ relate to this site.⁸⁹ The city probably joined Hannibal during the Second Punic War, and may have been used as a base for Hannibal's army.⁹⁰ There were several notable battles there during both the Hannibalic War and the Social War. The Roman site was probably established after the Social War, when the original site was destroyed, and most of the archaeological evidence at the site is from its Roman phase.⁹¹

Bruttium

Thurii Copia

Lu 47 (Thurii Copia 1), Thurii Copia 2

Thurii was founded c. 443 BC as a Panhellenic settlement under the leadership of Athens, along with the refugees from the former city of Sybaris and other settlers from across Greece.⁹² It may have been founded partially on the site of the destroyed city of Sybaris.⁹³ Thurii normally appears in historical texts when it was at war with one of its neighbours: notably, the 'Lucanians' in the early fourth century,⁹⁴ the 'Bruttian league' in 356 BC,⁹⁵ and the Lucanians and Tarentines in the third century.⁹⁶ In 282, Thurii appealed to Rome for help repelling the Lucanians, and a Roman garrison was installed; the garrison was ejected by the Tarentines, and this incident contributed to the beginning of the Pyrrhic War.⁹⁷ Thurii initially defected from Rome in the Second Punic War, but held a Roman garrison from 213 BC.⁹⁸ After the war, Rome created a colony there (193), renaming the site Copia.⁹⁹ The site survived, at least in part, down to the very end of the second century.¹⁰⁰

⁸⁷ *CIL* 1² 593. Crawford 1996: 355–91. ⁸⁸ Isayev 2007: 210.

⁸⁹ Crawford 2012. ⁹⁰ Fronda 2010: 206.

⁹¹ Salmon 1982: 132; Isayev 2007: 93–4; 211. ⁹² Diod. Sic. 12.9–11.

⁹³ Graham 1982a: 110. ⁹⁴ Diod. Sic. 14.101. ⁹⁵ Diod. Sic. 14.100.

⁹⁶ Plutarch, *Pyrrhus* 13; Livy, *Per.* Book 12.

⁹⁷ Appian, *Sam.* 7.1; Livy, *Per.* Book 12. ⁹⁸ Fronda 2010: 228.

⁹⁹ Livy 34.53. ¹⁰⁰ Crawford 2011b: 57.

Appendix 1

Consentia (Cosenza)

Consentia 1 (coinage)

Consentia is often identified as the main city of the Bruttii.¹⁰¹ It was in a strategically favourable position, such that it controlled the main routes from the interior to Sybaris and the Tyrrhenian Sea. It was founded at some point before 400 BC, and taken over by the Bruttii c. 350.¹⁰² The remains of Alexander the Molossian were supposedly cremated there after he was killed by a disloyal Lucanian.¹⁰³ It was an ally of Rome from c. 270, and was initially loyal to Rome in the Second Punic War, but apparently could not hold out against the Carthaginian forces, though it was later recovered by Rome.¹⁰⁴ It was later besieged by Sextus Pompeius in the Civil Wars.¹⁰⁵

Crimisa or Crimissa (Cirò Marina)

Lu 23 (Crimisa 1), Lu 24 (Crimisa 2), Lu 44 (Crimisa 3)

Crimisa, like Petelia, is said to have been founded by the Greek hero Philoctetes on his return from the Trojan War.¹⁰⁶ Archaeological evidence near Cirò Marina shows habitation from the seventh century onwards, including a sixth-century sanctuary and temple of Apollo which was still in use in the Hellenistic period.¹⁰⁷ Crimisa was in the territory of Croton, a major Greek settlement.¹⁰⁸ It was Hannibal's main base in the Second Punic War and according to Livy was handed over to a Bruttian ruling class during that time.¹⁰⁹ Croton was abandoned towards the end of the Second Punic War, and a Roman colony was placed there in 194 BC.¹¹⁰ It is not known how long the site at Crimisa itself was inhabited, or how far its fortunes followed Croton's.

Petelia (Strongoli)

Petelia 1 (coinage), Petelia 2, IG XIV 637, Pocc. 201

Petelia is supposed to have been founded by Philoctetes.¹¹¹ Little is known about its early history, though it is usually known as a Bruttian site, though with an unusual level of urbanisation and plentiful high-quality Greek goods.¹¹² It is considered one of the more important cities of the Bruttii, and during the war with Hannibal it was loyal to Rome.¹¹³ It was besieged by Hannibal in 215, and submitted to Carthage after eleven months.¹¹⁴ It seems

¹⁰¹ Strabo 6.1.5. Pugliese Carratelli 1987: 284. ¹⁰² OCD 4th edn.: 362.

¹⁰³ Strabo 6.1.5; Livy 8.24. ¹⁰⁴ Livy 23.30.5; 25.1.2; 28.11; 29.38.

¹⁰⁵ Appian, *B. Civ.* 5.6.56. ¹⁰⁶ Strabo 6.3. ¹⁰⁷ OCD 4th edn.: 392.

¹⁰⁸ Strabo 6.3. ¹⁰⁹ Livy 29.36; 30.19; 24.2. ¹¹⁰ Livy 34.45.

¹¹¹ Strabo 6.3. ¹¹² Fronda 2010: 152. ¹¹³ Livy 23.20.

¹¹⁴ Polybius 7.1.1; Livy 23.30.1–8; Strabo 6.1.3.

Appendix 1

to have been formally recognised as a ‘Greek’ city at some point during the second century BC,¹¹⁵ and became a Roman *municipium* soon after the Social War.¹¹⁶ Strabo reports that the city was still flourishing in the early Empire.¹¹⁷

Teuranus Ager (Tiriolo)

Lu 43 (Teuranus Ager 1), Teuranus Ager 2, Teuranus Ager 3, Teuranus Ager 4, NGCT 82

This is the name given to an area in Bruttium. The name of the site is known mainly from the reference to it in a copy of the *Senatus consultum de Bacchanalibus* sent to the *ager Teuranus* to be inscribed on bronze.¹¹⁸ The copy was found in the modern town of Tiriolo, suggesting that the Teuranus Ager was located nearby. Wealthy monumental tombs containing high-quality Greek goods have been excavated at cemetery sites near Tiriolo.¹¹⁹ Little else is known about the history of the area.

Scylletium/Scolacium (Staletti)

Ps 2 (Scolacium 1)

Despite some accounts of mythical foundings by Greeks, there is no evidence that Scolacium was a Greek settlement.¹²⁰ It is not mentioned in connection with the various conflicts which took place in the south, including the campaigns of Hannibal. It was probably a small settlement until it was founded as a Gracchan Roman colony in 123 BC, which survived into the Imperial period.¹²¹ A ‘Pre-Samnite’ inscription is associated with the site, but the reading presents a number of difficulties, and may be a modern fake.¹²²

Caulonia (Monasterace)

Caulonia 1 (coinage), Caulonia 2, Caulonia 3, Caulonia 4, Caulonia 5

Caulonia was an Achaean settlement, probably founded by Croton around 650 BC, though Strabo and Pausanias suggest that the settlers came directly from mainland Greece.¹²³ Evidence of a settlement and several cult sites, including a large extra-mural sanctuary, go back to the sixth century. It is possible that Caulonia 5 is evidence of Oscan-style names at the city from c. 400 BC.¹²⁴ Caulonia was besieged by Dionysius I of Syracuse in 389 BC,

¹¹⁵ Dench 1995: 46. ¹¹⁶ Salmon 1982: 134. ¹¹⁷ Strabo 6.3.

¹¹⁸ *CIL* 1² 581. ¹¹⁹ Fronda 2010: 153. ¹²⁰ Strabo 6.10.

¹²¹ Vell. Pat. 1.15.4; Pliny, *NH* 3.10. ¹²² Crawford 2011b: 1483.

¹²³ Strabo 6.1.10; Pausanias 6.3.12. ¹²⁴ Crawford 2011b: 1490.

Appendix 1

who transplanted the population to Syracuse, though the city was refounded several decades later, when it may have come under the influence of Locri.¹²⁵ It was destroyed again by the Campanian allies in the Roman forces during the Pyrrhic War (280),¹²⁶ and again in the Second Punic War after siding with Hannibal (205).¹²⁷ By Strabo's time, the city was deserted.¹²⁸ The location of the ancient site was unclear for many years, but was found in the twentieth century near the modern town of Monasterace.

Hipponium/Vibo Valentia

Vibo 1 (coinage), Lu 25 (Vibo 2), tLu 3–5 (Vibo 5), tLu 6 (Vibo 8), tLu 7 (Vibo 7), tLu 8 (Vibo 6), tLu 9 (Vibo 3), Vibo 4, Vibo 9, tLu 2, IG XIV 2402.2, Capialbi 131, 134

Hipponium was founded by Locri Epizephyrioi c. 650 BC.¹²⁹ Archaeological remains of cemeteries, residential buildings and parts of the surrounding walls have been found, dating to between the sixth and fourth centuries BC. The city was conquered in 388 by Dionysius of Syracuse, who deported the population; they returned in 378 with the help of the Carthaginians.¹³⁰ It apparently became a Bruttian city from 356 BC,¹³¹ though it was briefly captured by Agathocles of Syracuse in the early third century.¹³² During the Second Punic War, the area around the city was destroyed by Carthage.¹³³ It became a Roman colony in c. 192, and was given the name Vibo Valentia.¹³⁴ The site is probably in the centre of the modern city of Vibo Valentia, and has not been located.

Tauriani (near Gioia Tauro, Tauriana di Palmi, Oppido Mamertina)

Tauriani 1 (tLu 13), Tauriani 2

‘Tauriani’ is an ethnic name, found in the tile stamp *taurianoum*.¹³⁵ It is possible that these are the people referred to as surrendering to the Romans along with Consentia in c. 213 BC, which would imply they had supported Hannibal.¹³⁶ The site of Taurianum appears to be north of Rhegium. Little is known about the history of the town, but around ten hectares of the territory of the Tauriani have now been excavated, at the Parco archeologico dei Tauriani, near the modern towns of Gioia Tauro, Tauriana di Palmi and Oppido Mamertina.¹³⁷

¹²⁵ Fronda 2010: 171. ¹²⁶ Pausanias 6.3.12. ¹²⁷ Livy 27.12.

¹²⁸ Strabo 6.1.10. Cf. Pliny, *NH* 3.10. ¹²⁹ Strabo 6.1.

¹³⁰ Diod. Sic. 14.106–7; 15.24. ¹³¹ Diod. Sic. 16.15.2; Livy 35.40.6.

¹³² Diod. Sic. 21.8. ¹³³ Livy 21.51. ¹³⁴ Livy 35.40.

¹³⁵ Tauriani 1, Tauriani 2. ¹³⁶ Livy 25.1.2. ¹³⁷ Agostino 2005.

Appendix 1

Sicily

Messana

Messana 1 (coinage), *Me 1* (*Messana 4*), *Me 2* (*Messana 5*),¹³⁸ *Me 4* (*Messana 6*), *Me 5* (*Messana 7*), *1Me 1* (*Messana 2*), *1Me 2* (*Messana 8*), *Messana 3*

Messana was originally a Chalcidian Greek settlement, known as Zankle; it was re-founded c. 490 BC under the name Messene.¹³⁹ In the ancient accounts, the Oscan-speaking population of Messana were mercenaries of King Agathocles of Syracuse, who took control of the town after his death in the early third century; they came either from Samnium or more likely from Campania.¹⁴⁰ There is some evidence that there may have been different orthographic norms at Messana than in Lucania and Bruttium, which supports this story.¹⁴¹ The Mamertines had a role in a number of major conflicts, including sparking the First Punic War by allowing a Carthaginian garrison to be stationed with them.¹⁴² Oscan was probably not long-lived at this site: it seems that the Mamertines, as they call themselves in their inscriptions, were relatively quickly absorbed into the Greek-speaking community.¹⁴³

Other sites and ethnic names

The following sites and ethnic names have only coinage or isolated tile stamps associated with them. They are either not associated with a particular site, the location of the site is not known, or they are not mentioned elsewhere in this book. See in general Crawford 2011b and Rutter 2001.

Lucani (Lucani 1 coinage)
Saunitiai (Saunitiai 1 coinage)
Pitanatai Peripoloi (Pitanatai Peripoloi 1)
Orlanoi (Orlanoi 1 coinage)
Orsantinoi (Orsantinoi 1 coinage)
Bruttii (Brettii 1 coinage)
Breig (Breig 1 coinage)
Hyporum (Hyporum 1 coinage)
Taesia (Taesia 1 coinage)
Nuceria (Nuceria 1 coinage, Nuceria 2)

¹³⁸ Rix's *Me 3* is an incorrect copy of either *Me 1* or 2. *Me 1* and 2 are two carvings of the same text.

¹³⁹ Luraghi 2008: 147.

¹⁴⁰ Paul. *Fest.* 150L; Polybius 1.7.2, 1.8.1; Strabo 6.2.3. Crawford 2011b: 58.

¹⁴¹ See Chapter 3. ¹⁴² Polybius 1.10–11. ¹⁴³ Clackson 2012b: 141.

Appendix 1

Inscriptions without findspots

A number of inscriptions from this corpus have no clear provenance, but are thought to come from this region. These are:

Luc.Bret.Sic 1, Luc.Bret.Sic 2, Luc.Bret.Sic 3, Luc.Bret.Sic 4, Luc.Bret.Sic 5, Lucania 1, SEG 29.1026.

APPENDIX 2

DATING OF INSCRIPTIONS AND CONCORDANCES

Dating of inscriptions

This summary on the dating of the inscriptions, and potential problems with these dates, is adapted from Zair (forthcoming). Inscriptions not considered by Zair are also included. The following abbreviations are used in this table:

Imagines = Crawford 2011b *Imagines Italicae*.

Lejeune = Lejeune 1990. *Méfitis*; Lejeune 1970. 'Phonologie osque et graphie grecque'; Lejeune 1972c. 'Phonologie osque et graphie grecque II'.

P/G = Poccetti and Gualtieri 1990. In *Roccagloriosa* 1.

ST = Rix 2002. *Sabellische Texte*.

Zair = Zair forthcoming. *Oscan in the Greek Alphabet*.

Imagines #	ST #	Imagines date	Alternative date(s)	Problems
Luc.Bret.Sic 1	Lu 26	After c. 200	ST: Third century	Dated on the basis of the use of <I>, and for /f/.
Luc.Bret.Sic 2		200–100		
Luc.Bret.Sic 3	Lu 18	375–350	ST: Second half of fourth century	
Luc.Bret.Sic 4		c. 75		
Luc.Bret.Sic 5	tMe 3	150–100		
Lucania 1	Lu 19	c. 350	ST: Beginning of fourth century	
Lucani 1	nLu 1	207–204		
Paestum 1	Lu 14	c. 300	ST: End of fourth century	
Paestum 2		c. 300		
Paestum 3	Lu 42	370–360		
Velia 1	tLu 15	c. 200–100		

Appendix 2

Imagines #	ST #	Imagines date	Alternative date(s)	Problems
Buxentum 1	Lu 62	300–200	ST: First quarter of third century	
Buxentum 2		300–200		
Buxentum 3	Lu 45	None given	P/G: 400–300	
Blanda 1	Ps 20	c. 500	ST: End of sixth or first quarter of fifth century	
Nerulum 1	Ps 1	500–450	ST: Beginning of fifth century	
Laos 1		350–300		
Laos 2	Lu 46	330–320	ST: Last quarter of fourth century	
Laos 3	Lu 63	c. 300		
Laos 4		c. 300		
Volcei 1	nLu 3	216–209		
Atina Lucana 1	Lu 2	c. 150		
Cosilinum 1	Lu 3	c. 300		Dated on the basis of <S> for /f/.
Cosilinum 2	Lu 40	c. 100		
Tegianum 1	Lu 41	100–90		
Numistro 1	Lu 4	300–275		
Numistro 2		200–100		
Potentia 1	Lu 5	125–100		Dated on the basis of for /f/, <Z> for /s/.
Potentia 2	Lu 12	200–100		
Potentia 3	Lu 8	200–100		
Potentia 4	Lu 10	200–100	Lejeune: 300–200 ST: Third century	
Potentia 5	Lu 11	200–100		
Potentia 6	Lu 9	Either side of 200	Lejeune: 300–200 ST: Third century	
Potentia 7				

(cont.)

Appendix 2

Imagines #	ST #	Imagines date	Alternative date(s)	Problems
Potentia 8	Lu 9	Either side of 200	Lejeune: 300–200 ST: Third century	
Potentia 9	Lu 6	200–175		
Potentia 10	Lu 7	200–175		
Potentia 11	Lu 35	Either side of 200	Lejeune: 200–100 ST: End of second century	
Potentia 12	Lu 27	300–200		
Potentia 13	Lu 16	325–275	Lejeune: 350–300 ST: Second century	Dated on the basis of <EI> rather than <HI>.
Potentia 14	Lu 34	125–100		Dated on the basis of for /f/.
Potentia 15	Lu 33	300–200		
Potentia 16	Lu 32	c. 200	Lejeune: 125–100	
Potentia 17	Lu 15	300–200	Lejeune: 300–275	
Potentia 18		200–100	Zair: 225–200	
Potentia 19	Lu 36	325–275	Lejeune: 350–300 ST: End of fourth century	Dated on the basis of <EI> for /ε/.
Potentia 20	Lu 28	325–275	Lejeune: 350–300 ST: Late fourth century	Dated on the basis of <θ> for /f/.
Potentia 21	Lu 29	250–200	Lejeune: 325–300 ST: Late fourth to third century	Dated on the basis of <F> for /h/, the form of the μ, and small o.
Potentia 22	Lu 31	Either side of 200	Lejeune: 125–100 ST: End of second century	
Potentia 23	Lu 64	125–100	ST: Mid-second century	Dated on basis of the spelling of back vowels, use of lunate sigma.
Potentia 24	Lu 30	325–275	Lejeune: 350–300 ST: Mid-fourth century	

Appendix 2

Imagines #	ST #	Imagines		Problems
		date	Alternative date(s)	
Potentia 25	Lu 21	Either side of 200	Lejeune: 125–100 ST: Second century	
Potentia 26	Lu 20	300–200	Zair: 325–100	
Potentia 27	Lu 60 (part)	300–200	Lejeune: 350–300 ST: Mid-fourth century	
Potentia 28	Lu 22	300–200		
Potentia 29		300–200		
Potentia 30	Lu 57	300–200		
Potentia 31	Lu 59	300–200		
Potentia 32	Lu 17	300–200		
Potentia 33		None given		
Potentia 34	Lu 60 (part)	None given	Lejeune: 350–300 ST: Mid-fourth century	
Potentia 35		None given		
Potentia 36		None given		
Potentia 37		None given		
Potentia 38		None given		
Potentia 39		400–300		
Potentia 40	Lu 13	250–200		
Potentia 41		None given		
Potentia 42	tLu 10	400–100		
Potentia 43		None given		
Potentia 44	tLu 1	c. 225		
Anxia 1	Lu 39	300–250		
Anxia 2		None given		
Bantia 1	Lu 1	100–91		
Bantia 2	Lu 38	c. 100	ST: Second century	
Bantia 3		c. 100		
Saunitai 1		325–275		
Pitanatai		c. 350		
Peripoloi 1				
Metapontum 1	Lu 37	400–375	ST: Fourth century	

(cont.)

Appendix 2

Imagines #	ST #	Imagines date	Alternative date(s)	Problems
Metapontum 2		<i>c.</i> 300		
Orlanoi 1		215–204		
Orsantinoi 1		215–204		
Heraclea 1		None given		
Heraclea 2	Lu 61	Before 275		
Grumentum 1		215–209		
Brettii 1		216–204		
Thurii	Lu 47	350–300		
Copia 1				
Thurii		Before 205		
Copia 2				
Breig 1		<i>c.</i> 250–200		
Consentia 1		325–300		
Crimisa 1	Lu 23	300–200		
Crimisa 2	Lu 24	300–200		
Crimisa 3	Lu 44	300–250		
Petelia 1		215–100		
Petelia 2		<i>c.</i> 300		
Teuranus	Lu 43	Before <i>c.</i>	<i>ST</i> : Third century	
Ager 1		200		
Teuranus		<i>c.</i> 250		
Ager 2				
Teuranus		Before 200		
Ager 3				
Teuranus		Before 200		
Ager 4				
Scolacium 1	Ps 2	Modern ?	<i>ST</i> : Early fifth century	May be a modern fake.
Caulonia 1		300–200		
Caulonia 2		325–300		
Caulonia 3		300–200		
Caulonia 4		300–200		
Caulonia 5		<i>c.</i> 400 ?		
Hyporum 1		<i>c.</i> 300		
Taesia 1		250–200		

Appendix 2

Imagines #	ST #	Imagines date	Alternative date(s)	Problems
Nuceria 1		<i>c.</i> 300		
Nuceria 2	tLu 11	Before 200	ST: Fourth or third century	
Vibo 1	nLu 5	350–275		
Vibo 2	Lu 25	<i>c.</i> 300		Dated on the basis of <OYF> for /ow/ and <EI> for /εt/.
Vibo 3	tLu 9	Before 200		
Vibo 4		Before 200		
Vibo 5	tLu	Before 200		
	3–5			
Vibo 6	tLu 8	Before 200		
Vibo 7	tLu 7	300–275		Dated on the basis of <EI> for /εt/.
Vibo 8	tLu 6	Before 200		
Vibo 9		Before 200		
Tauriani 1	tLu 13	<i>c.</i> 100	ST: Early third century	
Tauriani 2		200–100		
Messana 1	nMe 1	<i>c.</i> 225		
Messana 2	tMe 1, tLu 14	Before 200	ST: Early third century	
Messana 3		250–150		
Messana 4	Me 1	<i>c.</i> 250		
Messana 5	Me 2	<i>c.</i> 250		
Messana 6	Me 4	<i>c.</i> 275		
Messana 7	Me 5	<i>c.</i> 250		
Messana 8	tMe 2	Before 200		

Concordances

These concordances include all South Oscan inscriptions, as well as all other Oscan, Umbrian, South Picene and ‘Pre-Samnite’ inscriptions mentioned in the text.

Appendix 2

Imagines	<i>ST</i>	Vetter	Poccetti	Lejeune
Italia 1				
Sabini				
Forum Novum 2	Um 2	362		
Cures 1	Sp RI 1			
Capenates				
Capena 1	Um 41			
Praetuttii				
Interamnia Praetuttiorum 3	Sp TE 7			
Vestini				
Aufinum 1	Sp AQ 2	517		
Furfo 1				
Incerulae 4	MV 5	220		
Teate Marrucinorum 2	MV 1	218		
Teate Marrucinorum 3	MV 7		205	
Teate Marrucinorum 4	MV 6		204	
Paeligni				
Superaequum 3	Pg 6, 7	217		
Interpromium A	Sp BA 1			
Interpromium B	Sp BO 1			
Corfinium 1	Pg 1		212	
Corfinium 7	Pg 14	211		
Corfinium 10	Pg 53	215		
Sulmo 2	Pg 5	202		
Sulmo 3	Pg 4	203		
Sulmo 6	Pg 12	204		
Sulmo 7	Pg 13	207	214	
Marsi				
Antinum 1	VM 3	223		
Latium				
Velitrae 1	VM 2	222		
Hernici				
Anagnia 14	He 3			
Aurunci				
Minturnae 1	Ps 10			
Campania				
Cam.Luc.Bret.Sic 1				
Campania Coinage 1				
Capua 1				

Appendix 2

Imagines	<i>ST</i>	Vetter	Poccetti	Lejeune
Capua 33	Cp 36	4		
Capua 34	Cp 37	6		
Capua 43	Cp 1	73	135	
Capua 44		73		
Capua 49	Cp 39	100		
Cumae 1				
Cumae 4	Cm 9	108	132	
Cumae 5	Cm 11		129	
Cumae 8	Cm 14	5		
Cumae 9	Cm 13	3		
Cumae 10	Cm 15	7		
Cumae 13	Cm 18	110		
Cumae 22				
Cumae 23				
Cumae 24				
Teanum Sidicinum 4				
Teanum Sidicinum 24	Po 51	70		
Teanum Sidicinum 25				
Allifae 1				
Phistelia 1				
Saticula 1	Cm 22	127	232	
Saticula 6	Cm 27	131		
Herculaneum 1	Cm 10	107		
Pompei 2	Po 34	23		
Pompei 3	Po 35	24		
Pompei 4	Po 36	25		
Pompei 5	Po 37	26		
Pompei 6	Po 38	27		
Pompei 7	Po 39	28		
Pompei 13	Po 1	8		
Pompei 27	Po 19	22		
Pompei 34	Po 40	29		
Pompei 38	Po 55	32		
Pompei 46	Po 66	63		
Pompei 67	Po 63	58		
Pompei 90	Po 90		120	
Pompei 98		54		
Pompei 122	tPo 27/37	48		
Surrentum 1	Cm 2			
Surrentum 6				
Hurietes 1				

(cont.)

Appendix 2

Imagines	<i>ST</i>	Vetter	Pocchetti	Lejeune
Nola 1				
Nola 3	Cm 6	115		
Abella 1	Cm 1	1		
Abella 3	Cm 3			
Nuceria Alfaterna 1				
Salernum 1			259	
Salernum 2	Ps 8		263	
Salernum 3				
Picentia 2	Cm 37			
Picentia 3	Cm 31			
Volsci				
Aquinum 3	Sa 58			
Atina 1	Sa 14,	143,		
	Sa 37,	145,		
	Sa 40	144		
Hirpini				
Abellinum 1	Hi 3			
Aeclanum 1	Hi 6	165		
Aeclanum 2	Hi 5	164		
Aeclanum 3	Hi 4	162		
Aeclanum 14				
Aeclanum 16				
Pentri				
Bouianum 9	tSa 13,		70	
	36			
Bouianum 41	Sa 60			
Bouianum 42	Sa 43			
Bouianum 98	Sa 36			
Saepinum 2	Sa 31	161		
Saepinum 4	Sa 59			
Teruentum 1	tPo 42			
Teruentum 5	Sa 21	151	19	
Teruentum 11	Sa 5	153		
Teruentum 20	Sa 24		16	
Teruentum 23	Sa 45		26	
Teruentum 25	Sa 35		21	
Teruentum 34	Sa 1	147		
Teruentum 35	Sa 26		33	
Fagifulae 3	Sa 30	175		
Fagifulae 9				
Frentiae 1	Fr 9		102	

Appendix 2

Imagines	ST	Vetter	Poccetti	Lejeune
Frentani				
Anxanum 1	Sp CH 1			
Histonium 5	Fr 5	170		
Histonium 7	Fr 4	172		
Histonium 9	Fr 12		106	
Larinum 1				
Daunia				
Teanum Apulum 1				
Lucania, Bruttium and Sicily				
Lucania or Brettii or Sicilia 1	Lu 26	193		
Lucania or Brettii or Sicilia 2				
Lucania or Brettii or Sicilia 3	Lu 18	190		
Lucania or Brettii or Sicilia 4				
Lucania or Brettii or Sicilia 5	tMe 3			
Lucania				
Lucania 1	Lu 19	191		
Lucania 2				
Lucani 1				
Paestum 1	Lu 14		152	
Paestum 2				
Paestum 3	Lu 42			
Paestum 4				
Velia 1	tLu 15			
Buxentum 1	Lu 62			
Buxentum 2				
Buxentum 3	Lu 45			
Blanda 1	Ps 20			
Nerulum 1	Ps 1	186		
Laos 1				
Laos 2	Lu 46			
Laos 3	Lu 63			
Laos 4				
Volcei 1	nLu 3			
Atina Lucana 1	Lu 2		148	
Cosilinum 1	Lu 3		150	
Cosilinum 2	Lu 40		185	
Tegianum 1	Lu 41		149	
Numistro 1	Lu 4			
Numistro 2				

(cont.)

Appendix 2

Imagines	<i>ST</i>	Vetter	Pocchetti	Lejeune
Potentia 1	Lu 5		175	<i>RV</i> 28
Potentia 2	Lu 12		176	<i>RV</i> 30
Potentia 3	Lu 8	180	154	<i>RV</i> 01
Potentia 4	Lu 10	181	155	<i>RV</i> 02
Potentia 5	Lu 11	181	156	<i>RV</i> 03
Potentia 6	Lu 9 (part)	181	157	<i>RV</i> 04
Potentia 7			183	<i>RV</i> 47
Potentia 8	Lu 9 (part)		160	<i>RV</i> 07
Potentia 9	Lu 6		167	<i>RV</i> 17, 42
Potentia 10	Lu 7		168	<i>RV</i> 18
Potentia 11	Lu 35		169	<i>RV</i> 19
Potentia 12	Lu 27			<i>RV</i> 56
Potentia 13	Lu 16		182	<i>RV</i> 44, 50
Potentia 14	Lu 34		171	<i>RV</i> 21
Potentia 15	Lu 33		173	<i>RV</i> 26
Potentia 16	Lu 32		159	<i>RV</i> 06
Potentia 17	Lu 15		164	<i>RV</i> 11
Potentia 18				
Potentia 19	Lu 36		177	<i>RV</i> 33
Potentia 20	Lu 28		179	<i>RV</i> 35
Potentia 21	Lu 29			<i>RV</i> 52
Potentia 22	Lu 31	182	158	<i>RV</i> 05
Potentia 23	Lu 64			<i>RV</i> 58
Potentia 24	Lu 30		165	<i>RV</i> 12
Potentia 25	Lu 21		170	<i>RV</i> 20
Potentia 26	Lu 20		178	<i>RV</i> 34
Potentia 27	Lu 60			<i>RV</i> 49
	(part)			
Potentia 28	Lu 22		174	<i>RV</i> 27
Potentia 29			180	<i>RV</i> 36
Potentia 30	Lu 57			<i>RV</i> 51
Potentia 31	Lu 59		172	<i>RV</i> 25
Potentia 32	Lu 17			<i>RV</i> 57
Potentia 33			181	<i>RV</i> 39
Potentia 34	Lu 60		161	<i>RV</i> 08
	(part)			
Potentia 35			163	<i>RV</i> 10
Potentia 36				
Potentia 37				
Potentia 38				
Potentia 39				

Appendix 2

Imagines	<i>ST</i>	Vetter	Poccetti	Lejeune
Potentia 40	Lu 13	183		
Potentia 41				
Potentia 42	tLu 10		162, 147	
Potentia 43				
Potentia 44	tLu 1		146	
Anxia 1	Lu 39	184		
Anxia 2				
Bantia 1	Lu 1			
Bantia 2	Lu 38			
Bantia 3			184	
Saunitai 1				
Pitanatai Peripoloi 1				
Metapontum 1	Lu 37	192	151	
Metapontum 2				
Orlanoi 1				
Orsantinoi 1				
Heraclea 1				
Heraclea 2	Lu 61			
Grumentum 1				
Bruttium				
Brettii 1				
Thurii Copia 1	Lu 47			
Thurii Copia 2			200	
Breig 1				
Consentia 1				
Crimisa 1	Lu 23		187	
Crimisa 2	Lu 24	194	186	
Crimisa 3	Lu 44		189	
Petelia 1				
Petelia 2				
Teuranus Ager 1	Lu 43		190	
Teuranus Ager 2				
Teuranus Ager 3				
Teuranus Ager 4				
Scolacium 1	Ps 2	195		
Caulonia 1				
Caulonia 2				
Caulonia 3				
Caulonia 4				
Caulonia 5				
Hyporum 1				

(cont.)

Appendix 2

Imagines	<i>ST</i>	Vetter	Poccetti	Lejeune
Taesia 1				
Nuceria 1				
Nuceria 2	tLu 11			
Vibo 1	nLu 5			
Vibo 2	Lu 25	187		
Vibo 3	tLu 9		199	
Vibo 4				
Vibo 5	tLu 3–5	188	196	
Vibo 6	tLu 8		193, 194	
Vibo 7	tLu 7		195	
Vibo 8	tLu 6	189	198	
Vibo 9				
Tauriani 1	tLu 13		191	
Tauriani 2				
Sicily				
Messana 1	nMe 1		138	
Messana 2	tMe 1, tLu 14	198	192	
Messana 3		198		
Messana 4	Me 1	196		
Messana 5	Me 2	196		
Messana 6	Me 4	197		
Messana 7	Me 5	197		
Messana 8	tMe 2	199		
<i>ST</i>	Imagines	Vetter	Poccetti	Lejeune
Um 2	Forum Novum 2	362		
Um 41	Capena 1			
VM 2	Velitrae 1	222		
VM 3	Antinum 1	223		
Sp TE 7	Interamnia Praetuttiorum 3			
Sp CH 1	Anxanum 1			
Sp AQ 2	Aufinum 1	517		
Sp RI 1	Cures 1			
Sp BO 1	Interpromium B			
Sp BA 1	Interpromium A			
Ps 1	Nerulum 1	186		
Ps 2	Scolacium 1	195		
Ps 8	Salernum 2			
Ps 10	Minturnae 1			

Appendix 2

<i>ST</i>	Imagines	Vetter	Pocchetti	Lejeune
Ps 20	Blanda 1			
Pg 1	Corfinium 1		212	
Pg 4	Sulmo 3	203		
Pg 5	Sulmo 2	202		
Pg 6, 7	Superaequum 3	217		
Pg 12	Sulmo 6	204		
Pg 13	Sulmo 7	207	214	
Pg 14	Corfinium 7	211		
Pg 53	Corfinium 10	215		
MV 1	Teate Marrucinorum 2	218		
MV 5	Incerulae 4	220		
MV 6	Teate Marrucinorum 4		204	
MV 7	Teate Marrucinorum 3		205	
Fr 4	Histonium 7	172		
Fr 5	Histonium 5	170		
Fr 9	Frentiae 1		102	
Fr 12	Histonium 9		106	
Sa 1	Teruentum 34	147		
Sa 5	Teruentum 11	153		
Sa 14	Atina 1	143, 145, 144		
Sa 21	Teruentum 5	151	19	
Sa 24	Teruentum 20		16	
Sa 26	Teruentum 35		33	
Sa 30	Fagifulae 3	175		
Sa 31	Saepinum 2	161		
Sa 35	Teruentum 25		21	
Sa 36	Bouianum 98			
Sa 37	Atina 1	143, 145, 144		
Sa 40	Atina 1	143, 145, 144		
Sa 43	Bouianum 42			
Sa 45	Teruentum 23		26	
Sa 58	Aquinum 3			
Sa 59	Saepinum 4			
Sa 60	Bouianum 41			
tSa 13	Bouianum 9		70	
tSa 36	Bouianum 9		70	
Hi 3	Abellinum 1			
Hi 4	Aeclanum 3	162		
Hi 5	Aeclanum 2	164		
Hi 6	Aeclanum 1	165		
He 3	Anagnia 14			

(cont.)

Appendix 2

<i>ST</i>	Imagines	Vetter	Poccetti	Lejeune
Cp 1	Capua 43	73	135	
Cp 36	Capua 33	4		
Cp 37	Capua 34	6		
Cp 39	Capua 49	100		
Cm 1	Abella 1	1		
Cm 2	Surrentum 1			
Cm 3	Abella 3			
Cm 6	Nola 3	115		
Cm 9	Cumae 4	108	132	
Cm 10	Herculaneum 1	107		
Cm 11	Cumae 5		129	
Cm 13	Cumae 9	3		
Cm 14	Cumae 8	5		
Cm 15	Cumae 10	7		
Cm 18	Cumae 13	110		
Cm 22	Saticula 1	127	232	
Cm 27	Saticula 6	131		
Cm 31	Picentia 3			
Cm 37	Picentia 2			
Po 1	Pompei 13	8		
Po 19	Pompei 27	22		
Po 34	Pompei 2	23		
Po 35	Pompei 3	24		
Po 36	Pompei 4	25		
Po 37	Pompei 5	26		
Po 38	Pompei 6	27		
Po 39	Pompei 7	28		
Po 40	Pompei 34	29		
Po 51	Teanum Sidicinum 24	70		
Po 55	Pompei 38	32		
Po 63	Pompei 67	58		
Po 66	Pompei 46	63		
Po 90	Pompei 90		120	
tPo 27/37	Pompei 122	48		
tPo 42	Teruentum 1			
Lu 1	Bantia 1			
Lu 2	Atina Lucana 1		148	
Lu 3	Cosilinum 1		150	
Lu 4	Numistro 1			
Lu 5	Potentia 1		175	<i>RV</i> 28
Lu 6	Potentia 9		167	<i>RV</i> 17, 42
Lu 7	Potentia 10		168	<i>RV</i> 18

Appendix 2

<i>ST</i>	Imagines	Vetter	Pocchetti	Lejeune
Lu 8	Potentia 3	180	154	<i>RV</i> 01
Lu 9 (part)	Potentia 6	181	157	<i>RV</i> 04
Lu 9 (part)	Potentia 8		160	<i>RV</i> 07
Lu 10	Potentia 4	181	155	<i>RV</i> 02
Lu 11	Potentia 5	181	156	<i>RV</i> 03
Lu 12	Potentia 2		176	<i>RV</i> 30
Lu 13	Potentia 40	183		
Lu 14	Paestum 1		152	
Lu 15	Potentia 17		164	<i>RV</i> 11
Lu 16	Potentia 13		182	<i>RV</i> 44, 50
Lu 17	Potentia 32			<i>RV</i> 57
Lu 18	Lucania or Brettii or Sicilia 3	190		
Lu 19	Lucania 1	191		
Lu 20	Potentia 26		178	<i>RV</i> 34
Lu 21	Potentia 25		170	<i>RV</i> 20
Lu 22	Potentia 28		174	<i>RV</i> 27
Lu 23	Crimisa 1		187	
Lu 24	Crimisa 2	194	186	
Lu 25	Vibo 2	187		
Lu 26	Lucania or Brettii or Sicilia 1	193		
Lu 27	Potentia 12			<i>RV</i> 56
Lu 28	Potentia 20		179	<i>RV</i> 35
Lu 29	Potentia 21			<i>RV</i> 52
Lu 30	Potentia 24		165	<i>RV</i> 12
Lu 31	Potentia 22	182	158	<i>RV</i> 05
Lu 32	Potentia 16		159	<i>RV</i> 06
Lu 33	Potentia 15		173	<i>RV</i> 26
Lu 34	Potentia 14		171	<i>RV</i> 21
Lu 35	Potentia 11		169	<i>RV</i> 19
Lu 36	Potentia 19		177	<i>RV</i> 33
Lu 37	Metapontum 1	192	151	
Lu 38	Bantia 2			
Lu 39	Anxia 1	184		
Lu 40	Cosilinum 2		185	
Lu 41	Tegianum 1		149	
Lu 42	Paestum 3			
Lu 43	Teuranus Ager 1		190	
Lu 44	Crimisa 3		189	
Lu 45	Buxentum 3			

(cont.)

Appendix 2

<i>ST</i>	Images	Vetter	Pocchetti	Lejeune
Lu 46	Laos 2			
Lu 47	Thurii Copia 1			
<i>Lu 48–56, 58</i>	<i>Italia 2–8</i>	195	166, 202	
Lu 57	Potentia 30			<i>RV</i> 51
Lu 59	Potentia 31		172	<i>RV</i> 25
Lu 60 (part)	Potentia 27			<i>RV</i> 49
Lu 60 (part)	Potentia 34		161	<i>RV</i> 08
Lu 61	Heraclea 2			
Lu 62	Buxentum 1			
Lu 63	Laos 3			
Lu 64	Potentia 23			<i>RV</i> 58
tLu 1	Potentia 44		146	
<i>tLu 2</i>	<i>Not Oscan</i>		197	
tLu 3–5	Vibo 5	188	196	
tLu 6	Vibo 8	189	198	
tLu 7	Vibo 7		195	
tLu 8	Vibo 6		193, 194	
tLu 9	Vibo 3		199	
tLu 10	Potentia 42		162, 147	
tLu 11	Nuceria 2			
<i>tLu 12</i>	<i>Messapic</i>			
tLu 13	Tauriani 1		191	
tLu 14	= tMe 1		192	
tLu 15	Velia 1			
nLu 1	Lucani 1	200 F1		
<i>nLu 2</i>	<i>Latin</i>	200 F2		
nLu 3	Volcei 1			
<i>nLu 4</i>	<i>Campania coinage 2</i>			
nLu 5	Vibo 1			
Me 1	Messana 4	196		
Me 2	Messana 5	196		
<i>Me 3</i>	= <i>Me 1</i>			
Me 4	Messana 6	197		
Me 5	Messana 7	197		
tMe 1, tLu 14	Messana 2	198	192	
tMe 2	Messana 8	199		
tMe 3	Lucania or Brettii or Sicilia 5			
nMe 1	Messana 1		138	

Appendix 2

Lejeune	Crawford	Rix	Vetter	Pocchetti
RV 01	Potentia 3	Lu 8	180	154
RV 02	Potentia 4	Lu 10	181	155
RV 03	Potentia 5	Lu 11	181	156
RV 04	Potentia 6	Lu 9 (part)	181	157
RV 05	Potentia 22	Lu 31	182	158
RV 06	Potentia 16	Lu 32		159
RV 07	Potentia 8	Lu 9 (part)		160
RV 08	Potentia 34	Lu 60 (part)		161
RV 10	Potentia 35			163
RV 11	Potentia 17	Lu 15		164
RV 12	Potentia 24	Lu 30		165
RV 18	Potentia 10	Lu 7		168
RV 19	Potentia 11	Lu 35		169
RV 20	Potentia 25	Lu 21		170
RV 21	Potentia 14	Lu 34		171
RV 25	Potentia 31	Lu 59		172
RV 26	Potentia 15	Lu 33		173
RV 27	Potentia 28	Lu 22		174
RV 28	Potentia 1	Lu 5		175
RV 30	Potentia 2	Lu 12		176
RV 33	Potentia 19	Lu 36		177
RV 34	Potentia 26	Lu 20		178
RV 35	Potentia 20	Lu 28		179
RV 36	Potentia 29			180
RV 39	Potentia 33			181
RV 47	Potentia 7			183
RV 49	Potentia 27	Lu 60 (part)		
RV 51	Potentia 30	Lu 57		
RV 52	Potentia 21	Lu 29		
RV 56	Potentia 12	Lu 27		
RV 57	Potentia 32	Lu 17		
RV 58	Potentia 23	Lu 64		
RV 17, 42	Potentia 9	Lu 6		167
RV 44, 50	Potentia 13	Lu 16		182

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Adameşteanu, D. 1974: *La Basilicata antica: Storia e monumenti*, Cava dei Tirreni.
- Adameşteanu, D. and Lejeune, M. 1971: *Il santuario lucano di Macchia di Rossano di Vaglio*, Rome.
- Adams, J. N. 2003: *Bilingualism and the Latin Language*, Cambridge.
- 2007: *The Regional Diversification of Latin, 200 BC–AD 600*, Cambridge.
- 2013: *Social Variation and the Latin Language*, Cambridge.
- Adams, J. N., Janse, M. and Swain, S. (eds.) 2002: *Bilingualism in Ancient Society: Language Contact and the Written Text*, Oxford; New York.
- Adiego, I.-J. 2007: 'Greek and Lydian', in A.-F. Christidis (ed.), *A History of Ancient Greek: From the Beginnings to Late Antiquity*, Cambridge, 768–72.
- d'Agostino, B. 1981: *Storia del Vallo di Diano I*, Salerno.
- Agostino, R. 2005: *Nel territorio dei Tauriani*, Palmi.
- Antonini, R. 1981: 'Rivista di epigrafia italica: Lucania', *Studi Etruschi* 49: 341–7.
- 1990: 'Gli alfabetari osci', in M. Pandolfini Angeletti and A. L. Prodocimi (eds.), *Alfabetari e insegnamento della scrittura in Etruria e nell'Italia Antica*, Florence, 143–53.
- Arbabzadah, M. 2009: 'A note on the bilingual curse tablet from Barchin del Hoyo', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 169: 193–5.
- 2012: 'Greek-Latin bilingualism in ancient magic: studies on curse tablets and magical amulets', PhD thesis, Cambridge.
- Baslez, M.-F. 1996: 'La première présence romaine à Délos (vers 250–vers 140)', in A. D. Rizakis (ed.), *Roman Onomastics in the Greek East. Social and Political Aspects*, Athens, 215–24.
- Bats, M. 2011: 'Emmêlements de langues et de systèmes graphiques en Gaule méridionale (vie–ier siècle av. J.-C.)', in C. Ruiz Darasse and E. R. Luján Martínez (eds.), *Contacts linguistiques dans l'Occident méditerranéen antique*, Madrid, 197–226.
- Beard, M., Bowman, A. K., Corbier, M., Cornell, T., Franklin Jr., J. L., Hanson, A. E., Hopkins, M. K. and Horsfall, N. M. (eds.) 1991: *Literacy in the Roman World*, Ann Arbor, MI.
- Beltrán Lloris, F. and Estarán Tolosa, M. J. 2011: 'Comunicación epigráfica e inscripciones bilingües en la península ibérica', in C. Ruiz Darasse

Bibliography

- and E. R. Luján Martínez (eds.), *Contacts linguistiques dans l'Occident méditerranéen antique*, Madrid, 9–26.
- Bergs, A. 2005: *Social Networks and Historical Sociolinguistics: Studies in Morphosyntactic Variation in the Paston Letters (1421–1503)*, Berlin.
- Berrendonner, C. 2009: 'L'invention des épitaphes dans la Rome médio-républicaine', in M.-L. Haack (ed.), *Écritures, cultures, sociétés dans les nécropoles d'Italie ancienne*, Bordeaux, 181–201.
- Bispham, E. 2007: *From Asculum to Actium: The Municipalization of Italy from the Social War to Augustus*, Oxford.
- Biville, F., Decourt, J.-C. and Rougemont, G. (eds.) 2008: *Bilinguisme gréco-latin et épigraphie: actes du colloque organisé à l'Université Lumière-Lyon 2*, Lyon.
- Blackwood, R. J. 2011: 'The linguistic landscape of Brittany and Corsica: a comparative study of the presence of France's regional languages in the public space', *Journal of French Language Studies* 21: 111–30.
- Blom, A. 2012: 'Linguae sacrae in ancient and medieval sources: an anthropological approach to ritual language', in A. Mullen and P. James (eds.), *Multilingualism in the Graeco-Roman Worlds*, Cambridge, 124–40.
- Bodel, J. P. and Kajava, M. 2009: "'Sacred dedications": a problem of definitions', in J. P. Bodel and M. Kajava (eds.), *Dedicatio sacra nel mondo greco-romano: diffusione, funzioni, tipologie*, Rome, 17–30.
- Bowman, A. K. and Woolf, G. 1994: *Literacy and Power in the Ancient World*, Cambridge.
- Bracco, V. 1974: *Inscriptiones Italiae Academiae Italicae Consociatae ediderunt: Volumen III – Regio III*, Rome.
- Bresson, A. 2002: 'Italiens et Romains à Rhodes et à Caunos', in C. Müller and C. Hasenohr (eds.), *Les Italiens dans le monde grec (IIe s. av. J.-C. – Ier s. ap. J.-C.)*, Athens, 147–62.
- Broodbank, C. 2013: *The Making of the Middle Sea: A History of the Mediterranean from the Beginning to the Emergence of the Classical World*, Oxford; New York.
- Buck, C. D. 1928: *A Grammar of Oscan and Umbrian*, 2nd edn., Hildesheim.
- 1955: *The Greek Dialects: Grammar, Selected Inscriptions, Glossary*, Chicago.
- Caltabiano, M. 1977: *Una città del sud tra Roma e Annibale: la monetazione di Petelia*, Palermo.
- Campanile, E. 1976: 'La latinizzazione dell'osco', in G. Devoto, A. Pagliaro and V. Pisani (eds.), *Scritti in onore di Giuliano Bonfante*, Brescia, 109–20.
- 1991: 'Limiti e caratteri del bilinguismo romano', in E. Campanile (ed.), *Il bilinguismo degli antichi*, Genoa, 9–23.
- 1992a: 'Un fenicio a Rocca gloriosa', *Studi Etruschi* 58: 369–71.
- 1992b: 'Note di linguistica osca', *AION (Ling.)* 14: 207–21.
- 1992c: 'Note sulla defixio di Marcellina', *Studi Etruschi* 58: 371–7.

Bibliography

- Campanile, E. and Letta, C. 1979: *Studi sulle magistrature indigene e municipali in area italica*, Pisa.
- Cappelletti, L. 2005: 'Le monete "Iupine" dei Lucani', *Tyche* 20: 11–21.
- Carter, J. C. 2004: 'The Greek identity at Metaponto', in K. Lomas (ed.), *Greek Identity in the Western Mediterranean: Papers in Honour of Brian Shefton*, Leiden; Boston, 363–90.
- De Cazanove, O. 2000: 'Some thoughts on the "religious Romanisation" of Italy before the Social War', in E. Bispham and C. Smith (eds.), *Religion in Archaic and Republican Rome and Italy: Evidence and Experience*, Abingdon; New York, 71–6.
- 2001: 'Civita di Tricarico nell'età della romanizzazione', in E. Lo Cascio and A. Storch Marino (eds.), *Modalità insediative e strutture agrarie nell'Italia meridionale in età romana*, Bari, 169–202.
- Cerchiai, L. 2004: 'Poseidonia/Paestum', in L. Cerchiai, L. Jannelli and F. Longo (eds.), *The Greek Cities of Magna Graecia and Sicily*, Los Angeles, 62–81.
- Clackson, J. 2006: 'Voiced aspirates in Latin: review of *Phonetics and Philology* by Jane Stuart Smith', *The Classical Review* 56. New Series: 144–5.
- 2011: 'Latin inscriptions and documents', in J. Clackson (ed.), *A Companion to the Latin Language*, Chichester, 29–39.
- 2012a: 'Language maintenance and language shift in the Mediterranean world during the Roman Empire', in A. Mullen and P. James (eds.), *Multilingualism in the Graeco-Roman Worlds*, Cambridge, 36–57.
- 2012b: 'Oscan in Sicily', in O. Tribulato (ed.), *Language and Linguistic Contact in Ancient Sicily*, Cambridge, 132–48.
- 2015a: 'Subgrouping in the Sabellian branch of Indo-European', *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 113: 4–37.
- 2015b: *Language and History in the Greek and Roman Worlds*, Cambridge.
- Clackson, J. and Horrocks, G. 2007: *The Blackwell History of the Latin Language*, Malden, MA; Oxford.
- Clyne, M. 2003: *Dynamics of Language Contact*, Cambridge.
- Coarelli, F. and La Regina, A. 1984: *Abruzzo, Molise*, Rome; Bari.
- Coleman, R. 1986: 'The Central Italic languages in the period of Roman expansion', *Transactions of the Philological Society* 84: 100–31.
- Colonna, G. 1984: 'Un trofeo di Novio Fannio, comandante sannita', *Studi di antichità in onore di G. Maetzke*, Rome, 229–41.
- 2001: 'L'iscrizione di Tortora', in M. Bugno and C. Masseria (eds.), *Il mondo enotrio tra VI e V secolo a. C.*, Naples, 243–52.
- Compatangelo-Soussignan, R. 2006: 'Les Italiens à Délos et l'économie de l'Italie méridionale au II^e s. av. n.è.', *Athenaeum* 94: 167–93.
- Conde-Silvestre, J. C. and Hernández-Campoy, J. M. 2012: 'Introduction', in *Handbook of Historical Sociolinguistics*, Chichester; Malden, MA, 1–8.
- Conway, R. S. 1897: *The Italic Dialects*, Cambridge.

Bibliography

- Cooley, A. 2002: 'The survival of Oscan in Roman Pompeii', in A. Cooley (ed.), *Becoming Roman, Writing Latin? Literacy and Epigraphy in the Roman West*, Portsmouth, RI, 77–86.
- 2012: *The Cambridge Manual of Latin Epigraphy*, Cambridge.
- Cornell, T. 1990: 'The Conquest of Italy', *The Cambridge Ancient History Volume 7: The Rise of Rome to 220 BC*, 2nd edn., Cambridge, 351–419.
- Cosani, C. 1996: 'Koinai et koiné dans la documentation épigraphique de l'Italie méridionale', in C. Brixhe (ed.), *La koiné grecque antique. II. La concurrence*, Paris, 113–32.
- Courtney, E. 1999: *Archaic Latin Prose*, Atlanta, GA.
- Crawford, M. H. 1996: *Roman Statutes*, London.
- 2003: 'Brave new world: Metapontum after Metapontum', in M. Cèbeillac-Gervasoni and L. Lamoine (eds.), *Les élites et leurs facettes: les élites locales dans le monde hellénistique et romain*, Rome, 15–30.
- 2006: 'From Poseidonia to Paestum via the Lucanians', in G. Bradley and J.-P. Wilson (eds.), *Greek and Roman Colonization: Origins, Ideologies and Interactions*, Swansea, 59–72.
- 2011a: 'From Ionia to the Twelve Tables', in K. Muscheler (ed.), *Römische Jurisprudenz: Dogmatik, Überlieferung, Rezeption. Festschrift für Detlef Liebs zum 75. Geburtstag*, Berlin, 153–9.
- 2011b: *Imagines Italicae*, London.
- 2012: 'Coins with ΓΡΥ: the Abbé Bertrand Capmartin de Chaupy and the early study of the coinages of Italy', in E. Paunov and S. Filipova (eds.), *ΗΡΑΚΛΕΟΥΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΘΑΣΙΩΝ, Studia in Honorem Iliæ Prokopov Sexagenario Ab Amicis et Discipulis Dedicata*, Tirnovo, 187–93.
- Cristofani, M. 1978: 'L'alfabeto etrusco', in A. L. Prosdocimi (ed.), *Lingue e dialetti dell'Italia antica*, Rome, 401–29.
- 1998: 'Sull'origine della scrittura osco-greca', *Studi Etruschi* 62: 275–9.
- Crystal, D. 2000: *Language Death*, Cambridge.
- Curbera, J. B. 1999: 'Maternal lineage in Greek magical texts', in D. R. Jordan, H. Montgomery and E. Thomassen (eds.), *The World of Ancient Magic*, Bergen, 195–204.
- Curbera, J. B. and Jordan, D. R. 2007: 'The language of Greek katadesmoi and magical papyri', in A.-F. Christidis (ed.), *A History of Ancient Greek: From the Beginnings to Late Antiquity*, Cambridge, 1347–54.
- Curti, E., Dench, E. and Patterson, J. R. 1996: 'The archaeology of central and southern Roman Italy: recent trends and approaches', *Journal of Roman Studies* 86: 170–89.
- Dale, A. and Aneurin, E.-E. 2011: 'A Cypriot curser at Mytilene', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 179: 189–98.
- Daube, D. 1956: *Forms of Roman Legislation.*, Oxford.
- Davies, G. 1977: 'Burial in Italy up to Augustus', in R. Reece (ed.), *Burial in the Roman World*, London, 13–19.

Bibliography

- Day, J. W. 2010: *Archaic Greek Epigram and Dedication: Representation and Reperformance*, Cambridge.
- Decorte, R. 2012: 'The language of law and resistance: a linguistic investigation of the Lex Osca Tabulae Bantinae', MPhil thesis, Cambridge.
- Dench, E. 1995: *From Barbarians to New Men: Greek, Roman, and Modern Perceptions of Peoples from the Central Apennines*, New York.
- Denoyelle, M. and Iozzo, M. 2009: *La céramique grecque d'Italie méridionale et de Sicile: productions coloniales et apparentées du VIIIe au IIIe siècle av. J.-C.*, Paris.
- Depew, M. 2000: 'Enacted and represented dedications: genre and Greek hymn', in M. Depew and D. Obbink (eds.), *Matrices of Genre: Authors, Canons, and Society*, Cambridge, MA; London, 59–80.
- Derks, T. and Roymans, N. 2009: 'Introduction', in T. Derks and N. Roymans (eds.), *Ethnic Constructs in Antiquity: The Role of Power and Tradition*, Amsterdam, 1–10.
- Dickey, E. 1996: *Greek Forms of Address: From Herodotus to Lucian*, Oxford.
- Dickie, M. W. 2001: *Magic and Magicians in the Greco-Roman World*, London.
- Dunbabin, T. J. 1948: *The Western Greeks*, Oxford.
- Dupraz, E. 2010: *Les Vestins à l'époque tardo-républicaine: du nord-osque au latin*, Mont-Saint-Aignan.
- 2012a: 'Oskisch dikked: eine unerwartete Perfektform', in W. Sowa and S. Schaffner (eds.), *Greek and Latin from an Indo-European Perspective 3: Proceedings of the Conference held at the Comenius University Bratislava July 8th–10th 2010*, Munich, 17–34.
- 2012b: *Sabellian Demonstratives: Forms and Functions*, Leiden.
- Edwards, J. 2006: 'Foundations of bilingualism', in T. K. Bhatia and W. C. Ritchie (eds.), *Handbook of Bilingualism*, Oxford, 7–31.
- Erdkamp, P. 2008: 'Mobility and migration in Italy in the second century BC', in L. de Ligt and S. Northwood (eds.), *People, Land and Politics: Demographic Developments and the Transformation of Roman Italy 300 BC–AD 14*, Leiden; Boston, 417–49.
- Eska, J. F. 1987: 'The language of the Latin inscriptions of Pompeii and the question of an Oscan substratum', *Glotta* 65: 146–61.
- 2008: 'Continental Celtic', in R. D. Woodard (ed.), *The Ancient Languages of Europe*, Cambridge, 165–88.
- Étienne, R. 2002: 'Introduction', in C. Müller and C. Hasenohr (eds.), *Les Italiens dans le monde grec: IIe siècle av. J.-C. – Ier siècle ap. J.-C.*, Athens, 1–8.
- Euler, W. 1982: *Dōnom dō-: Eine 'figura etymologica' der Sprachen Altitaliens*, Innsbruck.
- Faraone, C. A. 1991: 'The agonistic context of early Greek binding spells', in C. A. Faraone and D. Obbink (eds.), *Magika Hiera. Ancient Greek Magic and Religion*, New York; Oxford, 3–32.

Bibliography

- Faraone, C. A. and Kropp, A. 2010: 'Inversion, adversion and perversion as strategies in Latin curse-tablets', in R. Gordon and F. Simón (eds.), *Magical Practice in the Latin West*, Leiden; Boston, 381–98.
- Fishman, J. 1964: 'Language maintenance and language shift as a field of inquiry', *Linguistics* 9: 32–70.
- 1965: 'Who speaks what language to whom and when?', *La Linguistique* 2: 67–87.
- 1967: 'Bilingualism with and without diglossia', *Journal of Social Issues* 23: 29–38.
- Fortson, B. W. IV and Weiss, M. 2013: 'Review: M. H. Crawford, *Imagines Italicae: a corpus of Italic inscriptions*', *Bryn Mawr Classical Review* 2013.6.17. Available from <www.bmcreview.org/2013/06/20130617.html>.
- Fracchia, H. 2004: 'Western Lucania, Southern Samnium and Northern Apulia: settlement and cultural changes, fifth–third centuries BC', in H. Jones (ed.), *Samnium: Settlement and Cultural Change*, Providence, RI, 69–83.
- Fracchia, H. and Gualtieri, M. 2009: 'Roccagloriosa (SA): organizzazione insediativa e sviluppi istituzionali (IV–III sec. a.C.)', in M. Osanna (ed.), *Verso la città: forme insediative in Lucania e nel mondo italico fra IV e III sec. a.C.: atti delle giornate di studio, Venosa, 13–14 maggio 2006*, Venosa, 119–42.
- 2011: 'The countryside of Regio II and Regio III (c. 300 BC–AD 14)', in F. Colivicchi (ed.), *Local Cultures of South Italy and Sicily in the Late Republican Period: Between Hellenism and Rome*, Portsmouth, RI, 11–29.
- De Franciscis, A. and Parlangeli, O. 1960: *Gli Italici del Bruzio nei documenti epigrafici*, Naples.
- Franke, P. R. 1990: 'Pyrrhus', *The Cambridge Ancient History Volume 7: The Rise of Rome to 220 BC*, 2nd edn., Cambridge, 456–85.
- Frederiksen, M. W. 1965: 'The Republican municipal laws: errors and drafts', *Journal of Roman Studies* 55: 183–98.
- Fronza, M. P. 2010: *Between Rome and Carthage: Southern Italy during the Second Punic War*, Cambridge.
- Furley, W. D. 2010: 'Life in a line: a reading of dedicatory epigrams from the Archaic and Classical periods', in M. Baumbach, A. Petrovic and I. Petrovic (eds.), *Archaic and Classical Greek Epigram*, Cambridge, 151–66.
- Gabba, E. 1994: 'Rome and Italy: the Social War', *The Cambridge Ancient History Volume 9: The Last Age of the Roman Republic, 146–43 BC*, Cambridge, 104–28.
- Gager, J. G. 1992: *Curse Tablets and Binding Spells from the Ancient World*, New York.

Bibliography

- García, O. and Li, W. 2014: *Translanguaging: Language, Bilingualism and Education*, Basingstoke.
- García, O., Schiffman, H. and Zacariah, Z. 2006: 'Fishmanian sociolinguistics: 1949 to the present', in O. García, R. Peltz and H. Schiffman (eds.), *Language Loyalty, Continuity and Change: Joshua A. Fishman's Contributions to International Sociolinguistics*, Cleveland, 3–68.
- García Ramón, J. L. 1993: 'Zur Morphosyntax der passivischen Infinitive im Oskisch-Umbrischen: u. -f(e)i, o. -fir und ursabell. *-fjē (*-dhjēh₁)', in H. Rix (ed.), *Oskisch-Umbrisch: Texte und Grammatik*, Wiesbaden, 106–24.
- 2001: 'Impératif et infinitif pro imperativo dans les textes grecs dialectaux: les Lois de Gortyne', *Verbum* 23: 341–60.
- Garland, R. 2001: *The Greek Way of Death*, 2nd edn., London.
- 2014: *Wandering Greeks: The Ancient Greek Diaspora from the Age of Homer to the Death of Alexander the Great*, Princeton, NJ.
- Giangiulio, M. 2010: 'Deconstructing ethnicities: multiple identities in Archaic and Classical Sicily', *Babesch. Bulletin Antieke Beschaving* 85: 13–23.
- Gignac, F. T. 1975: *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*, Milan.
- Gordon, R. 1999: "'What's in a list?' Listing in Greek and Graeco-Roman malign magical texts', in D. R. Jordan, H. Montgomery and E. Thomassen (eds.), *The World of Ancient Magic*, Bergen, 239–77.
- Grace, G. W. 1996: 'Regularity of change in what?', in M. Durie and M. Ross (eds.), *The Comparative Method Reviewed: Regularity and Irregularity in Language Change*, New York, 157–79.
- Graham, A. J. 1982a: 'The colonial expansion of Greece', *The Cambridge Ancient History Volume 3: The Expansion of the Greek World, Eighth to Sixth Centuries BC*, 2nd edn., Cambridge, 83–162.
- 1982b: 'The Western Greeks', *The Cambridge Ancient History Volume 3: The Expansion of the Greek World, Eighth to Sixth Centuries BC*, 2nd edn., Cambridge, 163–89.
- Greco, E. 1980: 'Le fasi cronologiche dell'abito di Serra di Vaglio', *Scritti in onore di Dinu Adameşteanu: Attività archeologica in Basilicata 1964–1977*, Matera, 367–404.
- 1990: 'Serdaioi', *AION (Arch.)* 12: 39–57.
- 1993: *Archeologia della Magna Grecia*, 2nd edn., Rome.
- Greco, E. and Guzzo, P. G. 1992: 'Osservazioni conclusive', *Laos II: la tomba a camera di Marcellina*, Taranto, 91–6.
- Greco, E. and La Torre, G. F. 1999: *Blanda, Laos, Cerillae: Guida archeologica dell'alto Tirreno cosentino*, Paestum.
- Greco, G. 1982: 'Lo sviluppo di Serra di Vaglio nel v e iv sec. a.C.', *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome – Antiquité* 94: 67–89.

Bibliography

- Gualtieri, M. 2000: 'An unidentified Italic "touta" in Southern Italy', in R. R. Holloway (ed.), *Miscellanea Mediterranea*, Providence, RI, 49–59.
- 2003: *La Lucania romana: cultura e società nella documentazione archeologica*, Naples.
- 2004: 'Between Samnites and Lucanians: new archaeological and epigraphic evidence for settlement organization', in H. Jones (ed.), *Samnium: Settlement and Cultural Change*, Providence, RI, 35–50.
- 2008: 'Lucanian landscapes in the age of "Romanization" (third to first centuries BC): two case studies', in L. de Ligt and S. Northwood (eds.), *People, Land and Politics: Demographic Developments and the Transformation of Roman Italy 300 BC–AD 14*, Leiden, 387–416.
- Gualtieri, M. and Becker, M. J. 1982: 'Cremation among the Lucanians', *American Journal of Archaeology* 86: 475–81.
- Gualtieri, M. and Fracchia, H. 1990: *Roccagloriosa I. L'abito, scavo e ricognizione topografica (1976–1986)*, Naples.
- 2001: *Roccagloriosa II. L'oppidum lucano e il territorio*, Naples.
- Guarducci, M. 1987: *L'epigrafia greca dalle origini al tardo impero*, Rome.
- Guzzo, P. G. 1981: 'Su una corazza della "Magna Grecia"', *Museum Helveticum* 38: 55–61.
- 1983: 'Ipotesi sui re a Rossano di Vaglio', *Xenia* 5: 7–14.
- 1984: 'Lucanians, Brettians and Italiote Greeks in the fourth and third centuries BC', in T. Hackens, N. D. Holloway and R. R. Holloway (eds.), *Crossroads of the Mediterranean: Papers Delivered at the International Conference on the Archaeology of Early Italy, Haffenreffer Museum, Brown University, 8–10 May 1981*, Providence, RI, 191–246.
- Hamers, J. F. and Blanc, M. H. A. 1989: *Bilinguality and Bilingualism*, Cambridge.
- Harris, W. 1989: *Ancient Literacy*, Cambridge, MA.
- Heine, B. and Nurse, D. 2008: 'Introduction', in B. Heine and D. Nurse (eds.), *A Linguistic Geography of Africa*, Cambridge, 1–14.
- Hernández-Campoy, J. M. and Conde-Silvestre, J. C. (eds.) 2012: *The Handbook of Historical Sociolinguistics*, Chichester; Malden, MA.
- Hernández-Campoy, J. M. and Schilling, N. 2012: 'The application of the quantitative paradigm to historical sociolinguistics: problems with the generalizability principle', in J. M. Hernández-Campoy and J. C. Conde-Silvestre (eds.), *The Handbook of Historical Sociolinguistics*, Chichester; Malden, MA, 63–79.
- Horden, P. and Purcell, N. 2000: *The Corrupting Sea: A Study of Mediterranean History*, Oxford.
- Hornberger, N. H. and Link, H. 2012: 'Translanguaging and transnational literacies in multilingual classrooms: a biliteracy lens', *International Journal of Bilingual Education* 15: 261–78.

Bibliography

- Horrocks, G. 2010: *Greek: A History of the Language and Its Speakers*, 2nd edn., Chichester.
- Horsnaes, H. W. 2002: *The Cultural Development in North Western Lucania c. 600–273 BC*, Rome.
- Isayev, E. 2007: *Inside Ancient Lucania: Dialogues in History and Archaeology*, London.
- Jahr, E. H. (ed.) 1999: *Language Change: Advances in Historical Sociolinguistics*, Berlin.
- Janda, R. D. and Joseph, B. D. 2003: 'On language, change and language change – or, of history, linguistics and historical linguistics', in *The Handbook of Historical Linguistics*, Oxford, 3–180.
- Jannaris, A. N. 1897: *An Historical Greek Grammar*, London.
- Janse, M. 2003: 'Language death and language maintenance: problems and prospects', in M. Janse and S. Tol (eds.), *Language Death and Language Maintenance: Theoretical, Practical and Descriptive Approaches*, Amsterdam, ix–xvii.
- Johnson, W. A. and Parker, H. N. 2009: *Ancient Literacies: The Culture of Reading in Greece and Rome*, Oxford.
- Jones, S. 1997: *The Archaeology of Ethnicity: Constructing Identities in the Past and Present*, London.
- Jordan, D. R. 1985: 'A survey of the Greek defixiones not included in the special corpora', *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 26: 151–97.
- Jordan, D. R. and Curbera, J. B. 1998: 'Curse tablets from Mytilene', *Phoenix* 52: 31–41.
- Kay, P. 2014: *Rome's Economic Revolution*, Oxford.
- Kropp, A. 2010: 'How does magical language work?', in R. Gordon and F. Simón (eds.), *Magical Practice in the Latin West*, Leiden; Boston, 357–80.
- Labov, W. 1972: 'Some principles of linguistic methodology', *Language in Society* 1: 97–120.
- 2001: *Principles of Linguistic Change: Social Factors*, Oxford.
- Lambert, P.-Y. 2004: 'Defining magical spells and particularly defixiones of Roman antiquity: a personal opinion', in K. Brodersen and A. Kropp (eds.), *Fluchtafeln. Neue Funde und neue Deutungen zum antiken Schadenzauber*, Frankfurt, 71–80.
- Landry, R. and Bourhis, R. Y. 1997: 'Linguistic landscape and ethnolinguistic vitality: an empirical study', *Journal of Language and Social Psychology* 16: 23–49.
- Langslow, D. 2002: 'Approaching bilingualism in corpus languages', in J. N. Adams, M. Janse and S. Swain (eds.), *Bilingualism in Ancient Society: Language Contact and the Written Text*, Oxford, 23–51.
- 2012: 'Integration, identity and language shift: strengths and weaknesses of the "linguistic" evidence', in S. T. Roselaar (ed.), *Processes of Integration and Identity Formation in the Roman Republic*, Leiden, 289–309.

Bibliography

- Lass, R. 1997: *Historical Linguistics and Language Change*, Cambridge.
- Lazzarini, M. L. 1976: 'Le formule delle dediche votive nella Grecia arcaica', *Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei* 19: 48–354.
- 1990: 'Iscrizioni votive greche', *Scienze dell'Antichità* 3–4: 845–59.
- 1994: 'Una nuova defixio greca da Tiriolo', *AION (Ling.)* 16: 163–9.
- 2004: 'Lamina plumbea iscritta da Petelia', *Mediterraneo Antico* 7: 673–80.
- Lazzarini, M. L. and Poccetti, P. 2001: *Il mondo enotrio tra VI e V secolo a.C.: Atti dei seminari napoletani (1996–1998). Enotrio e l'iscrizione paleoitica da Tortora*, Naples.
- Lazzeroni, R. 1972: 'Contatti di lingue e di culture nell'Italia antica: elementi greci nei dialetti italici', *Studi e Saggi Linguistici* 12: 1–24.
- 1974: 'Contatti di lingue e culture nell'Italia antica: il patronimico nella formula onomastica', *Studi e Saggi Linguistici* 14: 275–306.
- Leiwo, M. 1995: *Neapolitana: A Study of Population and Language in Graeco-Roman Naples*, Helsinki.
- 2002: 'From contact to mixture: bilingual inscriptions from Italy', in J. N. Adams, M. Janse and S. Swain (eds.), *Bilingualism in Ancient Society: Language Contact and the Written Text*, Oxford, 168–96.
- Lejeune, M. 1966: 'Les notations de f dans l'Italie ancienne', *Revue des Études Latines* 44: 141–81.
- 1967: 'Notes de linguistique italique', *Revue des Études Latines* 45: 194–231.
- 1970: 'Phonologie osque et graphie grecque', *Revue des Études Anciennes* 72: 271–316.
- 1971: 'Inscriptions de Rossano di Vaglio', *Rendiconti dei Lincei* 26: 663–84.
- 1972a: '*Aisu- "dieu" et la quatrième déclinaison italique', *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris* 67: 129–37.
- 1972b: 'Phonologie osque et graphie grecque II', *Revue des Études Anciennes* 74: 5–13.
- 1976: *L'anthroponymie osque*, Paris.
- 1985: 'Notes de linguistique italique: inscription osque à Muro Lucano', *Revue des Études Latines* 63: 50–5.
- 1990: *Méfitis: D'après les dédicaces lucaniennes de Rossano di Vaglio*, Louvain-la-Neuve.
- Lewis, G., Jones, B. and Baker, C. 2012: 'Translanguaging: developing its conceptualisation and contextualisation', *Educational Research and Evaluation* 18: 655–70.
- Lodge, R. A. 2004: *A Sociolinguistic History of Parisian French*, Cambridge.
- Lomas, K. 1993: *Rome and the Western Greeks, 350 BC–AD 200: Conquest and Acculturation in Southern Italy*, London.
- 1995: 'Urban elites and cultural definition: Romanization in southern Italy', in T. Cornell and K. Lomas (eds.), *Urban Society in Roman Italy*, London, 107–20.

Bibliography

- 1996: 'Greeks, Romans and others: problems of colonialism and ethnicity in southern Italy', in J. Webster and N. J. Cooper (eds.), *Roman Imperialism: Post-Colonial Perspectives*, Leicester, 135–44.
- 2008: 'Script obsolescence in Ancient Italy: From pre-Roman to Roman writing', in J. Baines, J. Bennet and S. Houston (eds.), *The Disappearance of Writing Systems: Perspectives on Literacy and Communication*, London, 109–38.
- Lomas, K., Whitehouse, R. and Wilkins, J. B. (eds.) 2007: *Literacy and the State in the Ancient Mediterranean*, London.
- Lupu, E. 2005: *Greek Sacred Law: A Collection of New Documents*, Leiden.
- Luraghi, N. 2008: *The Ancient Messenians: Constructions of Ethnicity and Memory*, Cambridge.
- Machan, T. W. and Scott, C. T. 1992: *English in Its Social Contexts: Essays in Historical Sociolinguistics*, New York.
- Malkin, I. 1998: *The Returns of Odysseus: Colonization and Ethnicity*, Berkeley; London.
- 2011: *A Small Greek World: Networks in the Ancient Mediterranean*, New York.
- Mallette, K. 2014: 'Lingua Franca', in P. Horden and S. Kinoshita (eds.), *A Companion to Mediterranean History*, Malden, MA; Oxford, 330–44.
- Manni Piraino, M. T. 1968: 'Iscrizioni greche di Lucania', *La Parola del Passato* 23: 419–57.
- Marchese, M. P. 1974: 'Recension de Rossano I–VII et de phonologie osque et graphie grecque I–II', *Studi Etruschi* 4: 401–28.
- Martzloff, V. 2007: 'Latin pollinctor, grec lip(a), picénien VEPSES: Phraséologie et élaboration poétique', in A. Blanc and E. Dupraz (eds.), *Procédés synchroniques de la langue poétique en grec et en latin*, Brussels, 171–90.
- Matras, Y. 2007: 'The borrowability of grammatical categories', in Y. Matras and J. Sakel (eds.), *Grammatical Borrowing in Cross-Linguistic Perspective*, Berlin, 31–74.
- 2009: *Language Contact*, Cambridge.
- McColl Millar, R. 2012: 'Social history and the sociology of language', in J. M. Hernández-Campoy and J. C. Conde-Silvestre (eds.), *The Handbook of Historical Sociolinguistics*, Chichester; Malden, MA, 41–59.
- McDonald, K. 2012a: 'Do personal names in South Oscan show influence from Greek?', in T. Meißner (ed.), *Personal Names in the Western Roman World*, Berlin, 41–58.
- 2012b: 'The testament of Vibius Adiranus', *Journal of Roman Studies* 102: 40–55.
- forthcoming: 'The Oscan documents of Southern Italy: genres, continuity and adaptation', in E. Dupraz (ed.), *Genres épigraphiques et langues d'attestation fragmentaire dans l'espace méditerranéen*: Rouen.

Bibliography

- McDonald, K., Tagliapietra, L. and Zair, N. forthcoming: 'New readings for the bilingual Petelia curse', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*.
- McDonald, K. and Zair, N. 2012: 'Oscan $\text{fou}\text{pou}\text{v}\text{ou}\text{t}$ and the Roccagloriosa Bronze Law', *Incontri Linguistici* 35: 31–45.
- McKay, A. G. 2004: 'Samnites at Cumae', in H. Jones (ed.), *Samnium: Settlement and Cultural Change*, Providence, RI, 85–101.
- McLean, B. H. 2002: *An Introduction to Greek Epigraphy of the Hellenistic and Roman Periods from Alexander the Great down to the Reign of Constantine (323 BC–AD 337)*, Ann Arbor, MI.
- Meiser, G. 1987: 'Pälignisch, Latein und Südpikenisch', *Glotta* 65: 104–25.
- 1992: 'Die sabellischen Medialendungen der 3. Person', in R. Beekes, A. Lubotksy and J. Weitenberg (eds.), *Rekonstruktion und relative Chronologie: Akten der VIII. Fachtagung der Indogermanischen Gesellschaft, Leiden, 31. August–4. September 1987*, Innsbruck, 291–305.
- De Meo, C. 1983: *Lingue tecniche del latino*, Bologna.
- Milroy, J. 1992: *Linguistic Variation and Change: On the Historical Sociolinguistics of English*, Oxford.
- Milroy, L. 1987: *Language and Social Networks*, 2nd edn., Oxford.
- Mimbrera, S. 2012: 'The Sicilian Doric Koina', in O. Tribulato (ed.), *Language and Linguistic Contact in Ancient Sicily*, Cambridge, 223–50.
- Missiou, A. 2011: *Literacy and Democracy in Fifth-Century Athens*, Cambridge.
- Mommsen, T. 1850: *Die unteritalischen Dialekte*, Leipzig.
- Morandi, A. 1978: 'L'iscrizione di Corcolle', *Archeologia Laziale* 1: 89–91.
- 1982: *Epigrafia italica*, Rome.
- Mouritsen, H. 1998: *Italian Unification: A Study in Ancient and Modern Historiography*, London.
- Mullen, A. 2008: 'Rethinking "Hellenization" in south-eastern Gaul. The Gallo-Greek epigraphic record', in R. Häussler (ed.), *Romanisation et épigraphie: études interdisciplinaires sur l'acculturation et l'identité dans l'Empire romain*, Montagnac, 249–66.
- 2011: 'Reflets du multiculturalisme. La création et le développement du gallo-grec', in C. Ruiz Darasse and E. R. Luján Martínez (eds.), *Contacts linguistiques dans l'Occident méditerranéen antique*, Madrid, 227–39.
- 2012: 'Introduction: multiple languages, multiple identities', in A. Mullen and P. James (eds.), *Multilingualism in the Graeco-Roman Worlds*, Cambridge, 1–35.
- 2013: *Southern Gaul and the Mediterranean: Multilingualism and Multiple Identities in the Iron Age and Roman Periods*, Cambridge.
- Mullen, A. and James, P. (eds.) 2012: *Multilingualism in the Graeco-Roman Worlds*, Cambridge.
- Murano, F. 2006: 'Proposta per una diversa successione del testo della defixio di Marcellina', *Studi Etruschi* 72: 349–52.
- 2013: *Le tabellae defixionum osche*, Pisa.

Bibliography

- Myers-Scotton, C. 2005: *Multiple Voices: An Introduction to Bilingualism*, Malden, MA.
- Nevalainen, T. and Raumolin-Brunberg, H. (eds.) 2003: *Historical Sociolinguistics: Language Change in Tudor and Stuart England*, Harlow.
- 2012: 'Historical sociolinguistics: origins, motivations, and paradigms', in J. M. Hernández-Campoy and J. C. Conde-Silvestre (eds.), *The Handbook of Historical Sociolinguistics*, Chichester; Malden, MA, 22–40.
- Ogden, D. 1999: 'Binding spells: curse tablets and voodoo dolls in the Greek and Roman worlds', in B. Ankarloo and S. Clark (eds.), *Witchcraft and Magic in Europe. Volume II. Ancient Greece and Rome*, London, 1–90.
- Osborne, R. 1998: 'Early Greek colonization? The nature of Greek settlement in the west', in N. Fisher and H. van Wees (eds.), *Archaic Greece: New Approaches and New Evidence*, London, 251–69.
- 2004: 'Hoards, votives, offerings: the archaeology of the dedicated object', *World Archaeology* 36: 1–10.
- 2012: 'Cultures as languages and languages as cultures', in A. Mullen and P. James (eds.), *Multilingualism in the Graeco-Roman Worlds*, Cambridge, 317–34.
- Papaconstantinou, A. (ed.) 2010: *The Multilingual Experience in Egypt, from the Ptolemies to the Abbasids*, Farnham.
- Patrick, P. L. 2002: 'The speech community', in J. K. Chambers, P. Trudgill and N. Schilling-Estes (eds.), *The Handbook of Language Variation and Change*, Malden, MA; Oxford, 573–97.
- Pedley, J. G. 1990: *Paestum: Greeks and Romans in Southern Italy*, New York.
- Pisani, V. 1952: 'Die Oskische Defixio aus Tiriolo', *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* 95: 289–91.
- Planta, R. von 1892: *Grammatik der oskisch-umbrischen Dialekte*, Strasbourg.
- Poccetti, P. 1979: *Nuovi documenti italici: a complemento del Manuale di E. Vetter*, Pisa.
- 1982: 'Il testamento di Vibio Adirano', *Rendiconti della Accademia di Archeologia NS* 57: 237–45.
- 1984: 'Su due laminette plumbee iscritte nel museo di Reggio Calabria', *Klarchos* 26: 73–86.
- 1988: 'Lingua e cultura dei Brettii', in P. Poccetti (ed.), *Per un'identità culturale dei Brettii*, Naples, 3–158.
- 1993a: 'Aspetti e problemi della diffusione del latino in area italica', in E. Campanile (ed.), *Caratteri e diffusione del latino in età arcaica*, Pisa, 73–96.
- 1993b: 'Nuova laminetta plumbea osca dal Bruzio', in M. L. Napolitano (ed.), *Crotone e la sua storia: tra IV e III secolo a. C.*, Naples, 213–32.
- 2000: 'Due tabellae defixionis osco-greche dalla Calabria nel museo archeologico di Napoli', in G. Paci (ed.), *Epigraphai: miscellanea epigrafica in onore di Lidio Gasperini*, Tivoli (Rome), 745–71.

Bibliography

- 2002: 'Manipolazione della realtà e manipolazione della lingua: alcuni aspetti dei testi magici dell'antichità', in R. Morresi (ed.), *Linguaggio-linguaggi. Invenzione-scoperta. Atti del convegno (Macerata – Fermo, 22–23 ottobre 1999)*, Rome, 11–59.
- 2008: 'Une nouvelle inscription osque et le nom de Venus', *Revue des Études Latines* 86: 24–36.
- 2009a: 'Lineamenti di tradizioni "non romane" di testi normativi', in A. Ancillotti and A. Calderini (eds.), *L'umbro e le altre lingue dell'Italia mediana antica. Atti del I convegno internazionale sugli antichi umbri, Gubbio, 20–22 settembre 2001*, Perugia, 165–248.
- 2009b: 'La notation des consonnes aspirées en latin: autour de deux nouveaux témoignages épigraphiques', *Revue des Études Latines* 87: 34–43.
- 2009c: 'Paradigmi formulari votivi nelle tradizioni epicoriche dell'Italia antica', in J. P. Bodet and M. Kajava (eds.), *Dediche sacre nel mondo greco-romano: diffusione, funzioni, tipologie*, Rome, 43–93.
- 2010: 'Contacts et échanges technologiques en Italie méridionale: langues et écritures au cours du i^{er} siècle av. J.-C.', in H. Tréziny (ed.), *Grecs et indigènes de la Catalogne à la Mer Noire*, Paris, 659–78.
- 2012: 'Language relations in Sicily: evidence for the speech of the Sikanoi, the Sikeloi and others', in O. Tribulato (ed.), *Language and Linguistic Contact in Ancient Sicily*, Cambridge, 49–94.
- Poccetti, P., Cassio, A. C., Guzzo, P. G., Greco, E., d'Agostino, B., Silvestri, D. and Mele, A. 1993: 'Atti della giornata di discussione su "La tabella defixionis di Laos"', *AION (Ling.)* 15: 113–90.
- Poccetti, P. and Gualtieri, M. 1990: 'Laminetta di piombo con iscrizione dal complesso A', in M. Gualtieri and H. Fracchia (eds.), *Roccagloriosa I: l'abito, scavo e ricognizione topografica (1976–1986)*, Naples, 137–50.
- 2001: 'Frammento di tabula bronzea con iscrizione osca dal pianoro centrale', in M. Gualtieri and H. Fracchia (eds.), *Roccagloriosa II: l'oppidum lucano e il territorio*, Naples, 187–274.
- Poccetti, P. and Lazzarini, M. L. 2009: 'L'iscrizione sulla coppa ionica da Palazzo', in R. Agostino and M. M. Sica (eds.), *Sila Silva, Ho Drumós... Hón Silan Kalouús III: Palazzo: Una Struttura Fortificata in Aspromonte*, Soveria Manelli, 125–41.
- Porzio Gernia, M. L. 1970: 'Aspetti dell'influsso latino sul lessico e sulla sintassi osca', *Archivio Glottologico Italiano* 55: 94–144.
- Powell, J. G. F. 2005: 'Cicero's adaptation of legal Latin in the *De Legibus*', in J. N. Adams, T. Reinhardt and M. Lapidge (eds.), *Aspects of the Language of Latin Prose*, New York; Oxford, 117–50.
- 2011: 'Legal Latin', in J. Clackson (ed.), *A Companion to the Latin Language*, Chichester; Malden, MA, 464–84.
- Prag, J. 2013: 'Epigraphy in the western Mediterranean: a Hellenistic phenomenon?', in J. Prag and J. Crawley Quinn (eds.), *The Hellenistic West: Rethinking the Ancient Mediterranean*, Cambridge, 320–47.

Bibliography

- Prosdocimi, A. L. 1976: 'Sui grecismi nell'osco', in G. Devoto, A. Pagliaro and V. Pisani (eds.), *Scritti in onore di Giuliano Bonfante*, Brescia, 781–866.
- 1979: 'Studi sul latino arcaico', *Studi Etruschi* 47: 173–221.
- 1980: 'Review of Poccetti (1979)', *Studi Etruschi* 48: 605–23.
- 1989: 'Le lingue dominanti e i linguaggi locali', in G. Cavallo, G. Chiarini, P. Cugusi, P. Fedeli, G. Gianotti, A. Giardina, I. Gualandri *et al.* (eds.), *Lo spazio letterario di Roma antica II: la circolazione del testo*, Rome, 11–91.
- Pugliese Carratelli, G. 1987: 'I Brettii', *Magna Grecia: lo sviluppo politico, sociale ed economico*, Milan, 281–94.
- 1992: 'Gli oggetti in metallo', in E. Greco and P. G. Guzzo (eds.), *Laos II: la tomba a camera di Marcellina*, Taranto, 17–19.
- Purcell, N. 1994: 'South Italy in the fourth century BC', in D. M. Lewis, J. Boardman, S. Hornblower and M. Ostwald (eds.), *The Cambridge Ancient History Volume 6: The Fourth Century BC*, Cambridge, 381–403.
- Regina, A. La 1981: 'Appunti su entità etniche e strutture istituzionali nel Sannio antico', *AION (Arch.)* 3: 129–37.
- 2002: 'La formula onomastica oscana in Lucania e nel Bruzio', *Eutopia* 2, 57–69.
- Ribezzo, F. 1924: 'Studi e scoperte di epigrafia osco-lucana nell'ultimo decennio', *Rivista indo-greco-italica* 8: 83–100.
- Ridgway, D. 1992: *The First Western Greeks*, Cambridge; New York.
- 2004: 'Euboeans and others along the Tyrrhenian seaboard in the 8th century BC', in K. Lomas (ed.), *Greek Identity in the Western Mediterranean: Papers in Honour of Brian Shefton*, Leiden; Boston, 15–34.
- Rietveld, T., van Hout, R. and Ernestus, M. 2004: 'Pitfalls in corpus research', *Computers and the Humanities* 38: 343–62.
- Rix, H. 1967: 'Oskisch aiusis', *Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft* 22: 67–79.
- 1985: 'Descrizioni di rituali in etrusco e in italico', in A. Quattordio (ed.), *L'etrusco e le lingue dell'Italia antica. Atti del Convegno della Società italiana di glottologia*, Pisa, 8 e 9 dicembre 1984, Pisa, 21–37.
- 1991: *Etruskische Texte: editio minor*, Tübingen.
- 1993: 'Die oskische Weihung an Fatuus Ve. 183', *Linguistica* 33: 191–5.
- 1996: 'Variazioni locali in osco', in L. Del Tutto Palma (ed.), *La Tavola di Agnone nel contesto italico – convegno di studio – Agnone, 13–15 aprile 1994*, Florence, 243–61.
- 2000: 'Oskisch brateis bratom, lateinisch grates', in A. Hintze and E. Tichy (eds.), *Anusantatyai: Festschrift für Johanna Narten zum 70. Geburtstag*, Dettelbach, 207–29.
- 2002: *Sabellische Texte. Die Texte des Oskischen, Umbrischen und Südpikenischen*, Heidelberg.

Bibliography

- 2003: 'Ausgliederung und Aufgliederung der italischen Sprachen', in A. Bammesberger and T. Vennemann (eds.), *Languages in Prehistoric Europe*, Heidelberg, 147–72.
- 2008: 'Etruscan', in R. D. Woodard (ed.), *The Ancient Languages of Europe*, Cambridge, 141–64.
- 2009: 'Umbro e sudpiceno. Differenze e concordanze', in A. Ancillotti and A. Calderini (eds.), *L'umbro e le altre lingue dell'Italia mediana antica. Atti del I convegno internazionale sugli antichi umbri, Gubbio, 20–22 settembre 2001*, Perugia, 249–64.
- Rochette, B. 2011: 'Language policies in the Roman Republic and Empire', in J. Clackson (ed.), *A Companion to the Latin Language*, Oxford, 549–63.
- Rohlf, G. 1967: 'Greek remnants in Southern Italy', *The Classical Journal* 62: 164–9.
- Romaine, S. 1982: *Socio-Historical Linguistics: Its Status and Methodology*, Cambridge.
- Roselaar, S. T. 2010: *Public Land in the Roman Republic: A Social and Economic History of Ager Publicus in Italy, 396–89 BC*, Oxford.
- Rosén, H. 1999: *Latine Loqui: Trends and Directions in the Crystallization of Classical Latin*, Munich.
- Ross, M. 1997: 'Social networks and kinds of speech community event', in R. M. Blench and M. Spriggs (eds.), *Archaeology and Language, Vol. 1: Theoretical and Methodological Orientations*, London, 209–61.
- 2003: 'Diagnosing prehistoric language contact', in R. Hickey (ed.), *Motives for Language Change*, Cambridge, 174–98.
- Ruiz Darasse, C. 2011: 'Introduction', in C. Ruiz Darasse and E. R. Luján Martínez (eds.), *Contacts linguistiques dans l'Occident méditerranéen antique*, Madrid, 1–5.
- Ruiz Darasse, C. and Luján Martínez, E. R. (eds.) 2011: *Contacts linguistiques dans l'Occident méditerranéen antique*, Madrid.
- Rutter, K. 2001: *Historia Nummorum – Italy*, London.
- Salmon, E. T. 1967: *Samnum and the Samnites*, Cambridge.
- 1982: *The Making of Roman Italy*, Ithaca.
- 1988: 'The Iron Age: the peoples of Italy', *The Cambridge Ancient History Volume 4: Persia, Greece and the Western Mediterranean, c. 525 to 479 BC*, Cambridge, 676–719.
- Scheidel, W. 2004: 'Human mobility in Roman Italy I: the free population', *Journal of Roman Studies* 94: 1–26.
- 2005: 'Human mobility in Roman Italy II: the slave population', *The Journal of Roman Studies* 95: 64–79.
- Schendl, H. 2012: 'Multilingualism, code-switching, and language contact in historical sociolinguistics', in J. M. Hernández-Campoy and J. C. Conde-Silvestre (eds.), *The Handbook of Historical Sociolinguistics*, Chichester; Malden, MA, 520–33.

Bibliography

- Schneider, E. W. 2002: 'Investigating variation and change in written documents', in J. K. Chambers, P. Trudgill and N. Schilling-Estes (eds.), *The Handbook of Language Variation and Change*, Malden, MA; Oxford, 69–96.
- Sebba, M. 2013: 'Multilingualism in written discourse: an approach to the analysis of multilingual texts', *International Journal of Bilingualism* 17: 97–118.
- Serrati, J. 2006: 'Neptune's altars: the treaties between Rome and Carthage (509–226 BC)', *The Classical Quarterly (New Series)* 56: 113–34.
- Sironen, T. 1982: 'Osservazioni sulle grafie per l'i breve d'origine greca nell'osco', *Arctos* 16: 159–64.
- 1987: 'Osservazioni sulle grafie per le occlusive aspirate d'origine greca nell'osco', *Arctos* 21: 109–17.
- 1991: 'Note onomastiche osco-lucane: ἀλα(μ)πονιες e ὠκελλος', *Arctos* 25, 134–8.
- Skinner, J. E. 2012: *The Invention of Greek Ethnography: From Homer to Herodotus*, Oxford; New York.
- Solin, H. and Salomies, O. (eds.) 1994: *Repertorium nominum gentilium et cognominum Latinorum*, 2nd edn., Hildesheim.
- Steele, P. 2010: 'A linguistic history of Cyprus: the non-Greek languages, and their relations with Greek, c. 1600–300 BC', PhD thesis, Cambridge.
- 2013: *A Linguistic History of Ancient Cyprus*, Cambridge.
- Stuart-Smith, J. 2004: *Phonetics and Philology: Sound Change in Italic*, Oxford.
- Szemerényi, O. 1996: *Introduction to Indo-European Linguistics*, 5th edn., Oxford.
- Tagliamonte, G. 1994: *I figli di Marte: Mobilità, mercenari e mercenariato italici in Magna Grecia e Sicilia*, Rome.
- Taylor, L. R. 1990: *Roman Voting Assemblies: From the Hannibalic War to the Dictatorship of Caesar*, Ann Arbor, MI.
- Tellegen-Couperus, O. 2012: 'Introduction', in O. Tellegen-Couperus (ed.), *Law and Religion in the Roman Republic*, Leiden, 1–8.
- Teodorsson, S.-T. 1974: *The Phonemic System of the Attic Dialect, 400–340 BC*, Gothenburg.
- Ter Beek, L. 2012: 'Divine law and the penalty of "sacer esto" in early Rome', in O. Tellegen-Couperus (ed.), *Law and Religion in the Roman Republic*, Leiden, 11–29.
- Thomas, R. 1992: *Literacy and Orality in Ancient Greece*, Cambridge.
- 1994: 'Literacy and the city-state in archaic and classical Greece', in A. K. Bowman and G. Woolf (eds.), *Literacy and Power in the Ancient World*, Cambridge, 33–50.
- Thomason, S. G. and Kaufman, T. 1988: *Language Contact, Creolization, and Genetic Linguistics*, Berkeley.
- Threatte, L. 1980: *The Grammar of Attic Inscriptions, Volume I*, Berlin.

Bibliography

- Tikkanen, K. 2011: *A Sabellian Case Grammar*, Heidelberg.
- Tocco, G. 2000: 'Frammento di legge in lingua osca su tavola bronzea', *Studi sull'Italia dei Sanniti*, Milan, 224–9.
- Toon, T. E. 1992: 'The social and political contexts of language change in Anglo-Saxon England', in T. W. Machan and C. T. Scott (eds.), *English in Its Social Contexts: Essays in Historical Sociolinguistics*, New York, 28–46.
- Torelli, M. 1995: *Studies in the Romanization of Italy*, H. Fracchia and M. Gualtieri (trans.), Alberta.
- Triantafyllis, E. 2007: 'Iscrizioni della Campania arcaica e sudpiceno: excursus sul genitivo nelle lingue italiche', *Studi Etruschi* 73: 482–9.
- Tribulato, O. 2012a: *Language and Linguistic Contact in Ancient Sicily*, Cambridge.
- 2012b: "'So many Sicilies": introducing language and linguistic contact in ancient Sicily', in O. Tribulato (ed.), *Language and Linguistic Contact in Ancient Sicily*, Cambridge, 1–45.
- Tutto Palma, L. Del 1987: 'ἡμοῖ [ε]ν ὕδασι = "terrae et aquae", una coppia inesistente?', *Studi Etruschi* 55: 367–71.
- 1989: 'Epigrafia lucana', *Quaderni Ist. Ling.* 6: 93–118.
- 1990: *Le iscrizioni della Lucania preromana*, Padua.
- 1991: 'Due "voces nihili": Lucani *udo e *numulo', *Studi Etruschi* 57: 179–86.
- 2006: 'Annotazioni in margine all'iscrizione di Roccagloriosa', in R. Bombi (ed.), *Studi linguistici in onore di Roberto Gusmani*, Alessandria, 527–36.
- Umholtz, G. 2002: 'Architraval arrogance? Dedicatory inscriptions in Greek architecture of the Classical period', *Hesperia* 71: 261–93.
- Untermann, J. 2000: *Wörterbuch des Oskisch-Umbrischen*, Heidelberg.
- Vázquez, N. and Marqués-Aguado, T. 2012: 'Editing the medieval manuscript in its social context', in J. M. Hernández-Campoy and J. C. Conde-Silvestre (eds.), *The Handbook of Historical Sociolinguistics*, Chichester; Malden, MA, 123–39.
- Vetter, E. 1953: *Handbuch der italischen Dialekte*, Heidelberg.
- Vine, B. 1991: 'Notes on the Corcolle altar fragments (*CIL* I2 (4) 2833 a)', *Glotta* 69: 219–34.
- 2004: 'New thoughts on an old curse', in A. Hyllested (ed.), *Per aspera ad asteriscos: studia Indogermanica in honorem Jens Elmegård Rasmussen sexagenarii Idibus Martiis anno MMIV*, Innsbruck.
- Vlassopoulos, K. 2013: *Greeks and Barbarians*, Cambridge; New York.
- Wallace, R. 1988: 'Dialectal Latin fundatid, proiectad, parentatid', *Glotta* 66: 211–20.
- 2008: 'Sabellian languages', in R. D. Woodard (ed.), *The Ancient Languages of Europe*, Cambridge, 96–123.
- Wallace-Hadrill, A. 2008: *Rome's Cultural Revolution*, Cambridge.

Bibliography

- Watkins, C. 1995: *How to Kill a Dragon: Aspects of Indo-European Poetics*, Oxford.
- Werner, S. 2009: 'Literacy studies in Classics: the last twenty years', in W. A. Johnson and H. N. Parker (eds.), *Ancient Literacies: The Culture of Reading in Greece and Rome*, Oxford, 333–82.
- Willi, A. 2009: 'Opfer des Lateinischen: Zum Sprachtod in Altitalien', *Gymnasium* 116: 573–98.
- 2010: 'The Umbrian Perfect In -nç- / -ns-', *Transactions of the Philological Society* 108: 1–14.
- Williamson, C. 1987: 'Monuments of bronze: Roman legal documents on bronze tablets', *Classical Antiquity* 6: 160–83.
- Winford, D. 2003: *An Introduction to Contact Linguistics*, Oxford.
- Wonder, J. W. 2002: 'What happened to the Greeks in Lucanian-occupied Paestum? Multiculturalism in Southern Italy', *Phoenix* 56: 40–55.
- Yntema, D. 2009: 'Material culture and plural identity in early Roman Southern Italy', in T. Derks and N. Roymans (eds.), *Ethnic Constructs in Antiquity: The Role of Power and Tradition*, Amsterdam, 145–66.
- Zair, N. 2013: 'Individualism in "Osco-Greek" orthography', in E.-M. Wagner, B. Outhwaite and B. Beinhoff (eds.), *Scribes as Agents of Language Change*, Berlin, 217–26.
- forthcoming: *Oscan in the Greek Alphabet*, Cambridge.
- Zimmermann, J.-L. 1979: 'Une cuirasse de Grande Grèce', *Museum Helveticum* 36: 177–84.

GENERAL INDEX

- abbreviation, 120, 197, 201, 206, 214, 218, 221
 Abella, 185, 211
ager publicus, 24, 32
 and Roman land reform, 27–8
 in Lucania and Bruttium, 25
 Allifae, 69, 211
 alphabets used to write Oscan
 Central Oscan alphabet, 4, 31, 44, 63, 68, 218, 230
 development of, 70
 orthography, 86, 90
 texts, 80, 97, 103, 141, 147, 184, 185, 212, 230–2
 Etruscan alphabet. *See* Etruscan
 Greek alphabets, 63, 69, 230. *See also* Greek
 influence between alphabets, 69, 70, 83, 86, 91
 Latin alphabet, 4. *See also* North Oscan
 texts, 177, 184, 186, 212, 218
 South Oscan alphabet, 4, 43, 63, 68, 100, 177–83
 creation of, 67–70, 92
 orthography and variant spellings. *See* orthography
 signs for /f/, 64, 65
 signs for /h/, 73
 texts, 115–31, 149–64, 195–203, 212–22
 use of for /f/, 77
 use of chi, 88–90, 125, 164
 use of phi, 79–82, 87–8, 164
 use of theta, 70, 72, 86–7, 164
 ambiguity, 156, 206, 221, 223
 Anxia, 128, 212, 250
 Appian, 5, 27, 28
 Apulia, 7, 23, 28, 58, 232
 archaism, 74, 79
 Aristoxenus of Tarentum, 58, 245
 aspirated stops, 80, 81, 88, 89, 125, 160, 163
 Atina Lucana, 195, 248
 ‘bad data’ problem, 37
 Bantia, 177, 251
 orthography at, 86, 229
 bilingualism, 42, 48–50
 as metaphor for cultural contact, 34
 bilitery, 193, 204, 232
 bi-version texts, 199, 218, 231, 232, 238
 craftsmen, 204, 219, 221, 231
 diglossia, 49, 50
 Greek/Gaulish, 236–8
 individual bilingualism, 48, 49
 Oscan/Greek, 4, 58, 131, 158, 193, 201, 205, 211, 219, 226, 242
 Oscan/Latin, 26, 31, 172, 231, 234–6, 242
 societal bilingualism, 48, 201, 203, 211, 219, 226, 242
 borrowing, 51–3, 58, 172, 177, 226, 241
 graphic, 83, 86, 89, 137, 156, 165
 lexical, 51, 88, 94, 125, 131, 192, 225, 231, 234
 morphological, 110, 156
 scale of borrowing, 52
 boustrophedon, 190
 Bruttii, 13, 17, 18, 22, 31, 35, 46
 coinage of, 206
 in Greece, 233
 in Hannibalic War, 23
 Bruttium, 4, 15, 24, 25, 252–5
 definition of, 6, 15–17
 map, 16
 population of, 11, 13, 20
 Buccino. *See* Volcei

General index

- burial practices, 12, 32, 211
 curse tablets deposited in graves, 135
 funerary epigraphy. *See* **funerary inscriptions**
naiskos monuments. *See* *naiskos*
 regional variation in, 211
 tomb paintings, 17, 32, 221
 Buxentum, 25
- calque, 51, 110, 131, 172, 199
 Campani, 11, 13, 23
 Campania, 4, 12–17, 24–5, 31, 47, 230–2, 256
 Capua, 13, 20, 24, 211, 212, 232
 Castelluccio, 11, 246
 Caulonia, 9, 10, 95, 228, 254–5
 Central Oscan. *See* **alphabets used to write Oscan**
- ceramics
 Greek ceramics in Italy, 7, 13
 inscriptions on, 11, 102, 103, 127, 202, 216–19, 231
 red-figured, 32
 stamps. *See* **stamps**
 votives, 32, 95, 249
- Cicero, 17, 52, 53, 168, 169, 170, 176
 citizenship. *See* **Roman citizenship**
 code-switching, 54, 164, 225, 241
 as metaphor for cultural contact, 34
 in Central Oscan, 231
 in curse tablets, 137, 143, 150, 161, 163
- coinage, 204–11
 designs, 204, 205, 210
 legends, 69, 79, 80, 87, 89, 149, 204, 206, 210, 225, 232
nummi, 120, 197
 of the Hannibalic War, 23, 205, 206
 of the Social War, 235
 production, 204, 210
 typologies, 204, 210, 226
 use in Italy, 20
- colonisation. *See* **Greek settlements**, **Roman and Latin colonies**
- commands. *See* **legal language**
 commercial documents, 150, 237
 Consentia, 24, 253
 convergence, 52, 172, 193, 231
 Cosilinum, 248
 Crimisa, 131, 253
- Croton, 9, 10, 22, 24, 25, 58, 95
 Cumae
 Greek settlement, 10, 13
 Latin at, 25, 140, 234
 Oscan/Greek bilingualism at, 137, 232, 233
 Romanisation of, 20, 25
 tomb paintings, 211
- curse tablets, 87, 92, 133–66, 225, 226, 227
 association of Oscan with magic, 141
 at Laos, 152–8
 at Petelia, 158–64
 at Roccagloriosa, 149–52
 commercial motivations for, 148
 curse formulae, 134, 136, 141–9, 161–2, 165
 definition of, 133
 Greek curse tablets, 134, 147, 162
 Greek models for Oscan curses, 137, 162, 165
 in Bruttium, 146, 165, 229
 in Campania, 137, 165, 231
 in Gaul, 237
 in Italy, 137–9
 legal language in, 146–9
 NOM. (VERB) ACC. structure, 143–6, 165, 225, 229
 obfuscation, 135–6, 154, 160
 regional variation in, 143, 146, 158, 165
- dating criteria, 71–4, 77, 258–63
 dating formulae, 115, 127, 199
 dedicatory inscriptions, 94–132, 225
anafaket, 108–10, 130, 224, 225
brateis datas, 113–15, 130, 225, 237
dedebratoudekanten, 237
 dedication formulae, 96, 103–6
 dedicators, 107
dunim deded, 108
 forms of, 96, 101–3, 131
 in the Greek world, 96
 on armour, 20, 63, 69, 77, 102–3, 199
pomfok, 118
 regional variation in, 103
rego(m), 119
 use of genitive, 96, 111–13, 225
 verbs of dedicating, 108–10

General index

- defixio*. *See* curse tablets
 Delos, 26, 199–201
 diglossia. *See* bilingualism
 Dio Chrysostom, 58
 Diodorus Siculus, 5, 19, 27
 Dionysius of Halicarnassus, 5, 6, 168
 dipinti, 216, 219, 225
 domain, 49–50, 60, 94, 222, 234, 237, 240, 241

 Elea. *See* Velia
 Ennius, 58
 Entella, 233
 epigraphic habit, 48, 93, 103, 169, 227, 238
 errors, 117, 125, 160, 163, 176, 180, 183
 ethnicity. *See* identity
 ethnolinguistic vitality, 50, 94, 229, 242
 Etruscan, 7, 65, 95, 139, 230
 alphabet, 44, 63, 66, 230

 Faliscan, 1, 65
 fragmentary languages
 approaches to the study of, 40–1, 49, 60
 freedmen, 214
 fricatives
 in Greek, 77, 80
 voicing in Oscan, 67, 69, 77, 86, 160
 funerary inscriptions, 129, 211–16, 225, 226, 232, 238
 greetings, 213, 225
 Roman influence on, 211
 funerary practices
 curse tablets deposited in graves, 141

 Gaulish, 114, 131, 236–8
 genitive
 genitive absolute, 114
 use in dedications, 96, 111–13, 225
 variant spellings, 127, 151, 155, 160
 genre, 60, 92, 224–7, 241
 gods
 ais-, 214
 Apollo, 95, 205, 231
 Dioscuri (Castor and Pollux), 119
 divine names in dedications, 110–13
 divine names on coins, 210
 Florus, 123
 Heracles, 95, 231
 Hermes, 134, 161, 163
 Jupiter/Jove, 85, 97, 119
 Mars/Mamers, 15, 97
 Mefitis, 97, 119
 numpsdoi, 84
 Persephone, 134
 Venus, 85, 97, 218
 Zeus, 86
 graffiti, 31, 216, 219, 225
 graphic influence, 82, 83, 86, 88, 89, 92, 137, 156, 165, 180, 225
 Greek
 Achaean Greek alphabet, 11, 63, 189, 230
 alphabets, 9, 11, 20, 63
 Arcadian, 174
 association with craftsmen, 231, 237
 Cypriot, 174
 Doric Greek, 58, 119, 160, 163, 198
 Elean Greek, 174
 Euboean Greek alphabet, 63, 230
 influence on Oscan, 202
 Ionic Greek, 198
 Ionic Greek alphabet, 63, 69, 230
 Oscan influence on, 155, 241
 Greek settlements, 7–11, 20, 227
 Grumentum, 252

 Hannibal, 23–4
 Hannibalic War, 23–4, 27, 205, 228
 coinage. *See* coinage
 Hellenisation, 31, 33, 45, 102, 119
 Hellenistic cultural *koine*, 20, 32, 34, 201, 215, 223
 Heraclea, 10, 22, 252
 Hipponium. *See* Vibo Valentia
 hybridity, 33

 identity
 and material culture, 45
 elite, 3, 32, 34, 201, 204, 216, 223
 ethnicity, 22, 44, 45, 233, 235
 local, 3, 31, 35, 41, 44, 193, 204, 205, 216
 ‘Oscan’, 235, 236
 regional, 24, 35, 43, 204
 imperative, 122, 163, 174, 175–83, 186, 187, 190, 191

General index

- interference, 51, 52, 58, 226, 241
- Italy, 28
- coinage. *See* coinage of the Social War
- Italiane Greeks, 9, 26, 35, 148, 168
- jokes. *See* puns
- Krimissa. *See* Crimisa
- language contact, 50–5. *See also*
- bilingualism, borrowing, calque, code-switching, convergence, graphic influence, interference, loan-shift
- contact phenomena, 48–54, 224
- creolisation, 33, 54
- language maintenance, 4, 50, 94, 236, 241
- language shift, 30, 50, 51, 91, 228, 234, 238
- mixed languages, 54, 137, 231
- models of, 54–5, 238–42
- pidgins, 54
- language death, 4, 41, 50, 235
- Laos, 9, 10, 210, 228, 247
- curse tablets at, 158, 229
- language contact at, 4, 137, 241
- population of, 13, 149
- Latin, 65, 216
- contact with Oscan, 234–6
- influence on Oscan, 168, 172, 177, 192, 202, 211, 229, 234
- loanwords in Oscan, 172, 234
- Oscan to Latin shift, 228, 234, 242
- law. *See* legal inscriptions, legal language
- legal inscriptions, 167–93, 225, 226
- Agnone tablet, 183
- Corcolle altar, 175
- forms of, 169, 170, 188, 192
- Greek laws, 168–9, 174, 188
- Greek laws in Italy, 168–70
- Italian legal *koine*, 170–3
- Lapis Niger*, 175
- on bronze, 25, 169, 170, 171, 177, 179, 183
- on stone, 169, 170, 188
- origins of, 168, 188
- Roccagloriosa law, 179–83, 202
- Roman *leges*, 175, 176
- Roman *senatus consulta*, 175, 176, 185
- sacred vs. secular, 173, 187
- senatus consultum de Bacchanalibus*, 25, 176
- Tabula Bantina, 177–9, 182, 202, 234, 235
- Tortora cippus, 188–92
- legal language
- commands and prohibitions, 173–88
- in curse tablets, 146–9
- Italian legal *koine*, 167, 192
- regional variation in, 187
- standardisation of, 175, 176, 178
- lingua franca, 54, 94, 234, 235, 237
- Lipara, 233
- literacy, 3, 37, 46–8, 61, 136, 160, 204, 216
- and partial readings, 106
- craftsmen, 38, 48, 221
- estimating levels of, 46
- in pre-Roman Italy, 47
- Livy, 5, 6, 18, 58, 168
- loan-shift, 52, 109, 110, 202
- loanwords. *See* borrowing
- Locri Epizephyrioi, 10, 23, 24, 210, 233
- Lucani, 13, 18, 22–4, 28–30, 31, 35, 46, 205
- in Greece, 233
- Lucania, 4, 15, 244–52
- definition of, 6
- map, 14
- population of, 11, 13, 20
- Luceria, 20
- Magna Graecia, 9, 31, 35, 205
- makers' signatures, 216, 219, 221, 231, 237
- use of Greek names, 222
- Mamertines, 17, 22, 23, 46, 91
- Marcellina. *See* Laos
- Marrucinian, 44, 184, 202
- meddi, 18, 25, 91, 199, 202
- Mediterraneanisation, 33
- mercenaries, 15, 17, 20, 32, 35, 206
- Messana, 4, 6, 10, 17, 23, 90–2, 256
- language shift at, 31
- orthography at, 83, 206, 229
- Oscan/Greek bilingualism at, 219, 233
- Messapia, 22

General index

- Messapic, 1, 58, 214, 232
 Metapontum, 9, 10, 20, 198, 205, 210, 251
 middle ground, 33, 34
 migration, 20, 30, 35
 mixed-language texts, 231
 Monasterace. *See* Caulonia
municipium, 29
 Muro Lucano, 2, 201, 248

naiskos, 32, 214
 names, 133, 140, 213, 214, 218, 233
 cognomen, 81, 151, 213
 filiation, 151, 153, 154, 161, 196
 gentilicium, 81, 82, 151, 152, 196, 214
 Greek names, 81, 87, 151, 165, 196, 210, 214, 221
 in coin legends, 210
 morphology of, 196
 multiple praenomina, 196
 orthography of, 83, 88, 127
 Oscan with Greek morphology, 102, 130, 154, 157, 219, 221, 229, 232
 praenomen, 151, 213, 214, 218, 221
 scrambled order, 154
 women's, 82, 88, 161
 Naples
 creation of South Oscan alphabet at, 68
 Greek settlement, 10
 language shift at, 31, 53
 Oscan/Greek bilingualism at, 4, 31, 58, 232, 233
 nasals
 loss of, 154, 155
 nu for mu, 154, 156, 224, 225
 Nerulum. *See* Castelluccio
 Nola, 30, 185
 North Oscan
 definition of, 44
 texts. *See* Paelignian, Marrucinian, Vestinian, alphabets used to write Oscan
 Nuceria Alfaterna, 79
 numerals, 73, 120–1, 197, 225
 Numistro. *See* Muro Lucano

 obfuscation. *See* curse tablets
 official inscriptions, 194–204, 216, 225

 onomastics. *See* names
 orthography
 alphabets. *See* alphabets used to write Oscan
 at Bantia, 86, 229
 at Messana, 92, 229
 at Paestum, 229
 double gamma, 90, 180, 225
 ‘extra’ characters, 64, 82–93, 164, 192
 chi, 88–90
 phi, 87–8
 psi, 83–4
 theta, 86–7
 xi, 83–4
 zeta, 83, 84–5
 of /f/, 190
 of diphthongs, 72, 79

 Paelignian, 44, 214
 Paestum, 210, 244–5
 Greek settlement, 9, 10, 12
 language shift at, 4, 13, 58
 Latin colony, 22, 33, 228
 orthography at, 229
 population of, 13, 20
 tomb paintings, 17, 211
 peoples of Italy in ancient sources. *See* also Bruttii, Italiote Greeks, Lucani, Mamertines, Samnites
 Atellani, 23
 Ausones, 11
 Calatini, 23
 Chones, 11
 Etruscans, 28
 Frentani, 28
 Gauls, 23
 Hirpini, 23, 28
 Marrucini, 28
 Marsi, 28
 Oenotrians, 11
 Paeligni, 28
 Pentri, 23
 Serdaioi, 11
 Umbrians, 28
 Vestini, 28
 Petelia, 9, 24, 137, 201, 203, 205, 219, 254
 Phoenician, 9, 87, 151
 Picenum, 28

General index

- Pietrabbondante, 26, 97, 232, 234
 Pithecusae, 10, 233
 Plutarch, 27
 Polybius, 5, 6
 Pompeii, 27, 28, 30, 31, 140, 231, 232, 235
 Poseidonia. *See* Paestum
 Potentia, 250
 ‘Pre-Samnite’, 11–12, 65, 66, 169, 188, 192, 227
 prestige, 3, 49, 50, 51, 201, 204, 241, 242.
 See also diglossia
 Punic Wars, 23–4
 Second Punic War. *See* Hannibalic War
 puns, 205, 206
 Pyrrhus of Epirus, 21–2
 Pythagoreans, 11, 18, 19, 168

 re-use, 72, 102, 127, 150, 164, 225
 Rhegium, 10, 23, 24, 233
 Roccagloriosa, 32, 150, 167, 179, 202, 203, 246
 Roman and Latin colonies, 20, 24, 29, 30, 33
 Roman citizenship, 20, 28, 29, 30, 235
 Roman civil wars, 28–31
 Romanisation, 25, 32–3, 45, 192, 229
 Rossano di Vaglio, 18, 97–100, 249
 Hellenisation of, 119
 language contact at, 4, 131, 227, 241
 orthography at, 91
 signs for /f/ at, 71–7
 use of theta at, 72, 87
 use of zeta at, 86
 verbs of dedicating at, 108

 Sabellian, 1, 95, 167, 168, 169, 172, 188, 192
 Salerno, 63
 Samnite Wars, 21
 Samnites, 13, 19, 21–4, 28, 29, 46
 Samnium, 4, 25, 230–2, 256
 sanctuaries, 18, 99, 135, 141, 195, 227
 Scolacium, 11, 254
 Serra di Vaglio, 2, 13, 197, 201, 203, 250

 Sicily, 17, 53, 134, 137, 168, 233, 256
 Siris, 10, 12
 Social War, 4, 28, 30, 33, 171, 235
 sociolinguistics
 historical sociolinguistics, 37–41
 Labov, 36
 quantitative sociolinguistics, 36
 South Oscan. *See passim*
 corpus, 55
 definition of, 4, 43
 history of scholarship on, 58–60
 regional variation in, 227–9
 South Picene, 1, 65, 129, 188, 202
 alphabet, 66
 speaking object, 96, 107, 108
 speech community, 42–5, 50, 60, 176
 Staletti. *See* Scolacium
 stamps
 amphora stamp, 218
 brick stamp, 218
 tile stamps, 216–19, 225
 Strabo, 5, 13, 31, 58
 Strongoli. *See* Petelia
 substratum, 51
 Sulla, 28, 29–30
 Sybaris, 9, 10, 11, 210
 Syracuse, 18, 19, 23, 58, 210

 Tarentum, 9, 10, 19, 22, 24, 198, 214, 245
 Tauriani, 255
 Teanum Sidicinum, 231, 232
 Tegianum, 214, 248
 Temesa, 25
 Teuranus Ager, 25, 147, 158, 254
 Thurii Copia, 10, 19, 21, 25, 252
 Tiriolo. *See* Teuranus Ager
 Tortora, 11, 65, 167, 202, 246
touta-, 18, 201–3
 trade, 12, 15, 26, 32, 35, 200, 211
 Tricarico, 13, 27, 218, 250
 Twelve Tables, 171, 175

 Umbrian, 1, 65, 94, 108, 120, 167, 177, 202
 alphabet, 94

General index

Velia, 10, 11, 13, 245

Velletri, 186

Venetic, 108

Venusia, 20, 28

ver sacrum, 15

vereia, 216

Vestinian, 44

Vibo Valentia, 10, 19, 25, 95, 210, 218,
255

vocative, 122, 163

Volcei, 89, 247

walls and fortifications, 20, 195, 198

women, 38, 82, 106, 154, 161, 234

written vs. spoken language,
38–9

Zancle. *See* [Messana](#)

INDEX LOCORUM

Oscan, Umbrian and South Picene inscriptions are listed under *ST/Imagines*. They are listed in alphabetical order by their *ST* number if they have one; inscriptions not found in *ST* follow at the end of the entry, listed alphabetically by their number in *Imagines Italicae*. See [Appendix 2](#) for alternative inscription numbering systems and concordances.

- Aristophanes
Clouds 497–9 [171](#)
- Aristoxenus of Tarentum
Athenaeus Deipno. 14.632 [58](#)
- Aulus Gellius
 17.17.1 [58](#)
- Bresson 2002
 Bresson 2002 [149](#) [233](#)
- Capialbi
 Capialbi 131 [219](#), [255](#)
 Capialbi 134 [219](#), [255](#)
- CEG
CEG 268 [122](#)
CEG 275 [122](#)
CEG 334 [122](#)
CEG 399 [96](#)
- Cicero
De Leg. [168](#), [176](#)
Fam. 13.36 [170](#)
- CIL
CIL I 1 = Lapis Niger [175](#), [188](#)
CIL I² 581 = *senatus consultum de Bacchanalibus* [25](#), [176](#)
CIL I² 593 = Tabulae Heracleenses [120](#), [176](#)
CIL I² 1012 [141](#)
CIL I² 2833a = Corcolle altar [175](#)
CIL x 497 [214](#)
- Dio Chrysostom
Or. 27.24 [58](#)
- Dionysius of Halicarnassus
Ant. Rom. 10.51.5 [168](#)
- DT Audollent
 DT Audollent 133 [139](#)
 DT Audollent 134 [139](#)
 DT Audollent 135 [139](#)
 DT Audollent 139 [139](#)
 DT Audollent 212 [138](#)
 DT Audollent 302 [138](#)
- DTA
 DTA 52 [164](#)
 DTA 55 [162](#)
 DTA 67 [135](#)
 DTA 87 [164](#)
 DTA 109 [164](#)
- Ennius
Ann. 447S [58](#)
- ET
 Po 4.4 [139](#)
 Vt 4.1 [139](#)
 Vt 4.2 [139](#)
 Vt 4.3 [139](#)
 Vt 4.4 [139](#)
 Vt 4.6 [139](#)
- FD III
 FD III. 4. 134 [233](#)
- Horace
 Satire 1.10.30 [58](#)
- ID
ID 442B [233](#)
ID 443B [233](#)
- IG
IG II² 2193 [200](#)

Index locorum

- IG IX.1* 8 200
IG IX.1 18 200
IG XIV 637 201, 219, 225, 253
IG XIV 2402.2 219, 255
- Kropp
 Kropp 1.1.3/1 139
 Kropp 1.4.2/1 139
 Kropp 1.4.2/2 139
 Kropp 1.4.2/3 139
 Kropp 1.4.4/3 139
 Kropp 1.4.4/8 139
 Kropp 1.4.4/9 139
 Kropp 1.4.4/10 139
 Kropp 1.4.4/11 139
 Kropp 1.4.4/12 139
 Kropp 1.5.4/1 139
 Kropp 1.7.2/1 139
- Livy
 1.18 168
 24.3.10 58
 40.43.1 234
- LSAG*
 LSAG 343.41 188
- NGCT
 NGCT 50 162
 NGCT 81 139
 NGCT 82 138, 140, 147, 225, 254
 NGCT 83 138
- Paul. *Fest.* 25L 256
- Plato
 Laws: 10.909a 134; 12.954a–b 171
 Republic 2.364b 134
- Pocc.
 Pocc. 201 203, 219, 225, 253
- SEG*
 SEG 29.1026 79, 102, 225, 257
 SEG 46.1313 222
- SGD*
 SGD 91 145
 SGD 106 162
 SGD 110 162
 SGD 122 138
- SGD* 123 138
SGD 124 138, 140, 225, 251
SGD 125 138
SGD 126 138
- ST/Imagines*
 Cm 1 (Abella 1) = Cippus Abellanus 85, 185–6, 187
 Cm 2 (Surrentum 1) 91
 Cm 3 (Abella 3) 231
 Cm 6 (Nola 3) 91
 Cm 9 (Cumae 4) 107
 Cm 10 (Herculaneum 1) 107, 108, 111, 202
 Cm 11 (Cumae 5) 102
 Cm 13 (Cumae 9) 139, 140, 147
 Cm 14 (Cumae 8) 139, 140, 196
 Cm 15 (Cumae 10) 139, 147, 231
 Cm 16 (Surrentum 4) 69
 Cm 18 (Cumae 13) 213
 Cm 22 (Saticula 1) 66
 Cm 27 (Saticula 6) 66
 Cm 31 (Picentia 3) 63, 230
 Cm 37 (Picentia 2) 63, 230
 Cp 1 (Capua 43) 232
 Cp 36 (Capua 33) 138, 140, 141, 147
 Cp 37 (Capua 34) 139, 147, 154, 214
 Cp 39 (Capua 49) 151
 Fr 4 (Histonium 7) 107, 108, 111
 Fr 5 (Histonium 5) 111
 Fr 9 (Frentiae 1) 231, 232
 Fr 12 (Histonium 9) 214
 He 3 (Anagnina 14) 156
 Hi 3 (Abellinum 1) 97
 Hi 4 (Aeclanum 3) 97, 106
 Hi 5 (Aeclanum 2) 113
 Hi 6 (Aeclanum 1) 111
 Lu 1 (Bantia 1) = Tabula Bantina 55, 85, 120, 167, 172, 177–9, 186, 187, 202, 234, 235, 251
 Lu 2 (Atina Lucana 1) 90, 195–6, 247
 Lu 3 (Cosilinum 1) 78, 85, 98, 105, 248
 Lu 4 (Numistro 1) 2, 199, 204, 248
 Lu 5 (Potentia 1) 73, 76, 77, 79, 84, 85, 90, 98, 105, 107, 108, 115–21, 156, 225, 249
 Lu 6 (Potentia 9) 74, 76, 90, 98, 105, 106, 107, 108, 111, 225, 249

Index locorum

ST/Imagines (cont.)

- Lu 7 (Potentia 10) 74, 76, 90, 97, 98,
105, 106, 107, 108, 111, 119, 225,
249
- Lu 8 (Potentia 3) 98, 100, 105, 106,
249
- Lu 9 (part) (Potentia 6) 98, 105, 249
- Lu 9 (part) (Potentia 8) 98, 105, 108,
249
- Lu 10 (Potentia 4) 98, 105, 249
- Lu 11 (Potentia 5) 85, 98, 105, 249
- Lu 12 (Potentia 2) 76, 98, 102, 105,
108, 197, 225, 249
- Lu 13 (Potentia 40) 75, 98, 105, 109,
115, 121–3, 225, 250
- Lu 14 (Paestum 1) 78, 98, 105, 109,
110, 113, 225, 229, 244
- Lu 15 (Potentia 17) 75, 98, 105, 106,
113, 225, 249
- Lu 16 (Potentia 13) 75, 98, 105, 113,
225, 249
- Lu 17 (Potentia 32) 75, 98, 105, 249
- Lu 18 (Luc.Bret.Sic 3) 63, 69, 77, 78,
98, 100, 105, 106, 108, 225
- Lu 19 (Lucania 1) 63, 69, 77, 78, 98,
100, 105
- Lu 20 (Potentia 26) 84, 98, 102, 105,
107, 249
- Lu 21 (Potentia 25) 98, 105, 249
- Lu 22 (Potentia 28) 98, 105, 108, 119,
249
- Lu 23 (Crimisa 1) 98, 102, 105, 115,
126–7, 225, 253
- Lu 24 (Crimisa 2) 90, 98, 102, 105,
115, 253
- Lu 25 (Vibo 2) 98, 102, 105, 255
- Lu 26 (Luc.Bret.Sic 1) 77, 78, 79, 98,
100, 102, 105, 111
- Lu 27 (Potentia 12) 98, 105, 249
- Lu 28 (Potentia 20) 72, 75, 84, 97, 98,
105, 125, 249
- Lu 29 (Potentia 21) 76, 84, 85, 89, 98,
105, 115, 124–6, 225, 249
- Lu 30 (Potentia 24) 72, 75, 98, 105,
249
- Lu 31 (Potentia 22) 76, 85, 97, 98,
105, 249
- Lu 32 (Potentia 16) 76, 98, 105, 249
- Lu 33 (Potentia 15) 75, 98, 105, 249

- Lu 34 (Potentia 14) 76, 77, 98, 105,
249
- Lu 35 (Potentia 11) 85, 97, 98, 105,
249
- Lu 36 (Potentia 19) 72, 75, 97, 98,
105, 249
- Lu 37 (Metapontum 1) 20, 63, 84, 98,
105, 199, 251
- Lu 38 (Bantia 2) 85, 98, 105, 251
- Lu 39 (Anxia 1) 88, 89, 98, 106,
127–30, 212, 225, 250
- Lu 40 (Cosilinum 2) 213–14, 225, 248
- Lu 41 (Tegianum 1) 215–16, 248
- Lu 42 (Paestum 3) 219, 220, 244
- Lu 43 (Teuranus Ager 1) 78, 84, 138,
140, 142, 143–5, 225, 254
- Lu 44 (Crimisa 3) 138, 142, 143–5,
225, 253
- Lu 45 (Buxentum 2) 237
- Lu 45 (Buxentum 3) 80, 81, 85, 87,
88, 89, 138, 142, 143, 148, 149–52,
225, 246
- Lu 46 (Laos 2) 78, 79, 80, 81, 84, 87,
138, 140, 142, 148, 152–6, 158, 225,
247
- Lu 47 (Thurii Copia 1) 84, 138, 142,
143–5, 225, 252
- Lu 57 (Potentia 30) 98, 105, 249
- Lu 59 (Potentia 31) 98, 106, 249
- Lu 60 (part) (Potentia 27) 98, 106, 249
- Lu 60 (part) (Potentia 34) 249
- Lu 61 (Heraclea 2) 84, 220, 251
- Lu 62 (Buxentum 1) 78, 90, 147, 150,
172, 179–83, 187, 202, 225, 246
- Lu 62 (Buxentum 2) 167
- Lu 63 (Laos 3) 78, 138, 140, 142, 247
- Lu 64 (Potentia 23) 98, 106, 113, 225,
249
- Me 1 (Messana 4) 91, 98, 106, 107,
202, 256
- Me 2 (Messana 5) 98, 106, 107, 202,
256
- Me 3 97
- Me 4 (Messana 6) 91, 98, 106, 256
- Me 5 (Messana 7) 98, 106, 111, 256
- MV 1 (Teate Marrucinorum 2)
183–5, 187, 202, 214
- MV 5 (Incerulae 4) 113
- MV 6 (Teate Marrucinorum 4) 213

Index locorum

- MV 7 (Teate Marrucinatorum 3) 213
 Pg 1 (Corfinium 1) 91
 Pg 4 (Sulmo 3) 103, 113
 Pg 5 (Sulmo 2) 107
 Pg 6 (Superaequum 3) 113
 Pg 12 (Sulmo 6) 214
 Pg 13 (Sulmo 7) 212
 Pg 14 (Corfinium 7) 212
 Pg 53 (Corfinium 10) 212
 Po 1 (Pompei 13) 156
 Po 3 (Pompei 24) 118
 Po 19 (Pompei 27) 231
 Po 34 (Pompei 2) 156
 Po 34–9 (Pompei 2–7) 235
 Po 35 (Pompei 3) 156
 Po 40 (Pompei 34) 80
 Po 51 (Teanum Sidicinum 24) 212
 Po 55 (Pompei 38) 97
 Po 90 (Pompei 90) 232
 Ps 1 (Nerulum 1) 11, 202, 231, 246
 Ps 2 (Scolacium 1) 11, 254
 Ps 8 (Salernum 2) 63
 Ps 10 (Minturnae 1) 230
 Ps 20 (Blanda 1) 11, 63, 65, 167, 169,
 172, 188–92, 202, 230, 246
 Sa 1 (Teruentum 34) = Agnone tablet
 80, 119, 183–4, 187
 Sa 5 (Teruentum 11) 202
 Sa 10 (Teruentum 16) 129
 Sa 11 (Teruentum 15) 129
 Sa 12 (Teruentum 17) 129
 Sa 21 (Teruentum 5) 108
 Sa 24 (Teruentum 20) 103, 107
 Sa 26 (Teruentum 35) 103, 113
 Sa 30 (Fagifulae 3) 111
 Sa 31 (Saepinum 2) 129
 Sa 35 (Teruentum 25) 234
 Sa 36 (Bovianum 98) 138, 140
 Sa 37 (Atina 1) 151
 Sa 43 (Bovianum 42) 102
 Sa 45 (Teruentum 23) 102
 Sa 58 (Aquinum 3) 151
 Sa 59 (Saepinum 4) 113
 Sa 60 (Bovianum 41) 102, 113
 Sp AQ 2 (Aufinum 1) 129
 Sp BA 1 (Interpromium A) 102
 Sp BO 1 (Interpromium B) 102
 Sp CH 1 (Anxanum 1) 129
 Sp RI 1 (Cures 1) 189
 Sp TE 7 (Interamnina Praetuttiorum 3)
 129
 tLu 1 (Potentia 44) 217, 250
 tLu 2 219, 255
 tLu 3–5 (Vibo 5) 217, 255
 tLu 6 (Vibo 8) 217, 255
 tLu 7 (Vibo 7) 217, 255
 tLu 8 (Vibo 6) 217, 255
 tLu 9 (Vibo 3) 217, 255
 tLu 10 (Potentia 42) 217, 250
 tLu 11 (Nuceria 2) 217
 tLu 13 (Tauriani 1) 217
 tLu 15 (Velia 1) 217, 245
 tMe 1 (Messana 2) 217, 256
 tMe 2 (Messana 8) 217, 256
 tMe 3 (Luc.Bret.Sic 5) 217
 tPo 27/37 (Pompei 122) 89
 tPo 42 (Teruentum 1) 202
 tSa 13, 36 (Bovianum 9) 196
 Um 2 (Forum Novum 2) 66
 Um 41 (Capena 1) 79
 VM 2 (Velitrae 1) 186–7
 VM 3 (Antinum 1) 103, 107
 Aeclanum 14 151
 Aeclanum 16 89
 Allifae 1 232
 Anxia 2 250
 Bantia 3 251
 Breig 1 208, 210, 256
 Brettii 1 206, 208, 256
 Buxentum 2 150, 201–3, 225,
 246
 Cam.Luc.Bret.Sic 1 231
 Campania Coinage 1 151, 232
 Campania Coinage 2 232
 Capua 1 232
 Capua 44 232
 Caulonia 1 208, 254
 Caulonia 2 85, 98, 106, 254
 Caulonia 3 217, 254
 Caulonia 4 217, 254
 Caulonia 5 217, 254
 Consentia 1 208, 253
 Cubulteria 1 232
 Cumae 1 232
 Cumae 22 232
 Cumae 23 232
 Cumae 24 232
 Fagifulae 9 89

Index locorum

ST/Imagines (cont.)

- Fenserni I 68
- Fistelia I 80
- Furfo I 111
- Grumentum I 208, 252
- Heraclea I 220, 251
- Hurietes I 232
- Hyporum I 208, 210, 256
- Italia I 235
- Laos I 84, 87, 207, 210, 247
- Laos 4 84, 138, 140, 142, 156–8, 225, 247
- Larinum I 232
- Luc.Bret.Sic I 257
- Luc.Bret.Sic 2 217, 257
- Luc.Bret.Sic 3 257
- Luc.Bret.Sic 4 219, 220, 257
- Luc.Bret.Sic 5 257
- Lucani I 205, 207, 210, 256
- Lucania I 257
- Lucania 2 218
- Messana I 209, 256
- Messana 3 217, 225, 256
- Metapontum 2 78, 220, 251
- Nola I 232
- Nuceria I 209, 256
- Nuceria Alfaterna I 70
- Numistro 2 217, 218, 248
- Orlanoi I 207, 256
- Orsantinoi I 208, 210, 256
- Paestum 2 98, 102, 106, 107, 244
- Paestum 3 221, 225
- Paestum 4 244
- Petelia I 208, 210, 253
- Petelia 2 82, 85, 87, 88, 89, 138, 140, 141–3, 148, 156, 158–64, 219, 225, 253
- Pitanatai Peripoloi I 207, 256
- Pompei 98 89
- Potentia 18 98, 106, 125, 249
- Potentia 29 98, 106, 131, 225, 249
- Potentia 33 249
- Potentia 35 249
- Potentia 36 249
- Potentia 37 250
- Potentia 38 249
- Potentia 39 89, 198–201, 204, 225, 249
- Potentia 41 250
- Potentia 43 217, 250
- Potentia 7 98, 106, 249
- Salernum I 63, 230
- Salernum 2 230
- Salernum 3 63, 230
- Saunitai I 206, 207
- Saunitiai I 256
- Surrentum 6 151
- Taesia I 209, 256
- Tauriani I (tLu 13) 255
- Tauriani 2 219, 220, 255
- Teanum Apulum I 232
- Teanum Sidicinum 4 102
- Teanum Sidicinum 25 214, 231
- Teuranus Ager 2 220, 254
- Teuranus Ager 3 218, 254
- Teuranus Ager 4 218, 254
- Thurii Copia 2 217, 252
- Vibo I 209, 210, 255
- Vibo 3–8 225
- Vibo 4 217, 255
- Vibo 9 220, 255
- Volcei I 89, 207, 247
- Strabo 5.4.7 58
- Twelve Tables 169, 171, 175